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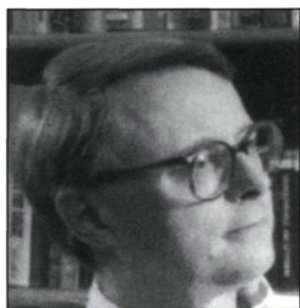
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# American Civil War Commanders (2)

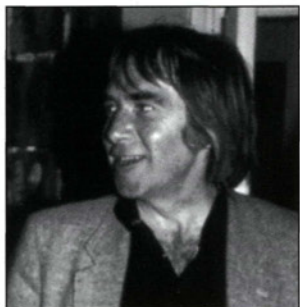
Confederate Leaders in the East



Philip Katcher • Illustrated by Richard Hook



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Consultant editor Martin Windrow

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## Author's Note

For reasons of space it seems appropriate to divide the commanders to be covered in this and a forthcoming second volume between the "Eastern" and "Western" theaters of war, according to their first, most important, or best-known operations. Inevitably, given the movement of some generals between the theaters, this has worked more neatly in some cases than in others, whose placing in one or other title has necessarily been somewhat arbitrary. Readers should regard the two books together as a single reference source.

## Acknowledgements

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## Artist's Note

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OPPOSITE **Jefferson Davis (1808–89), as President of the Confederate States of America, was commander-in-chief of the Confederate forces by the provisions of the Confederate Constitution. A former West Point graduate who had served in several frontier campaigns, this Mississippian later resigned his commission in favor of a political career, but returned to the colors as commander of a volunteer regiment in the Mexican War, distinguishing himself at Buena Vista. This episode, and his time as Secretary of War under President Pierce in 1853–57, gave him considerable confidence in his own military abilities, but he was essentially an administrator. As a workaholic who found it hard to delegate, he dominated several successive nominal heads of the Confederate War Department, and reserved to himself the right to appoint and promote generals. Davis was imprisoned for two years after the war, but was never brought to trial for treason, and was included in the amnesty of 1872.**



# AMERICAN CIVIL WAR COMMANDERS

## (2) CONFEDERATE LEADERS

### IN THE EAST

#### INTRODUCTION

IN ALL, 425 MEN RECEIVED THE RANK OF GENERAL from the Congress of the Confederate States of America. Originally there was only one general grade rank, that of brigadier-general; but quite soon after the Confederate Army's formation full generals were commissioned, while the rank of major-general was created for divisional commanders. When corps were adopted, the rank of lieutenant-general was created for that command.

Most Confederate generals were professional soldiers who had been educated at a military school and had seen active military service. The highest ranks were largely filled by graduates of the United States Military Academy at West Point, New York, although the Virginia Military Institute also provided the Confederacy with a number of general officers. None had commanded so much as a brigade in the pre-war US Army, so essentially each of them had to learn the practise of senior command "on the job."

The regulation general's uniform included a double-breasted gray frock coat with buff facings – collar, pointed cuffs, and edging. There were two rows of eight front buttons placed in pairs. Four lines of gold lace formed an Austrian knot on each sleeve; collar insignia were in the form of three gold stars within a wreath, the center one larger. Trousers were dark blue with gold parallel stripes down each outside seam; and a buff waist sash was to be worn over the coat. Officially the headgear was a *chapeau bras* or cocked bicorn hat reminiscent of the Napoleonic era, but a dark blue French-style kepi trimmed with four parallel gold cords was authorized for field use.

In practice very few generals wore strictly regulation uniforms. The gray fabrics used for the coat varied from light or dark ash-gray to blue-gray shades. Facings – where present at all – were often of a buff so light as to appear virtually white. Many had evenly spaced buttons, while major-generals often wore two rows of nine buttons set in threes. Starting with Robert E. Lee, a number of senior generals wore on their collars three stars of the same size – actually a colonel's regulation rank badge; indeed, so many did so that this must have been a generally accepted insignia.

#### Staffs

Each general was authorized a staff to assist him in exercising command. These varied in size and scope. Lee's staff was remarkably small to run an entire army. Moxley Sorrel, at first an officer on Longstreet's staff and later a general in his own right, later put down his impressions of Lee's staff:

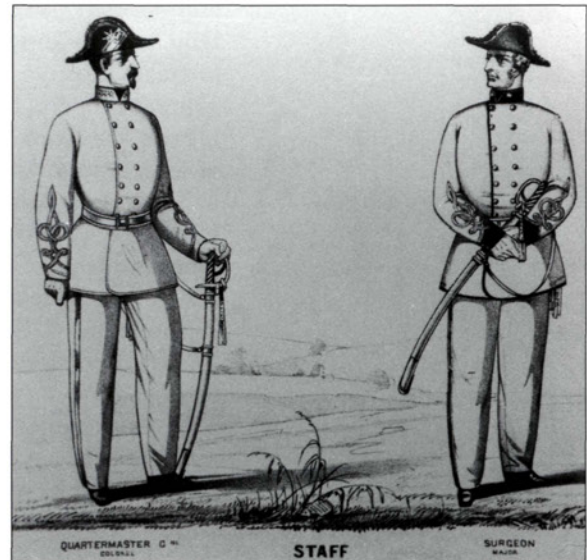
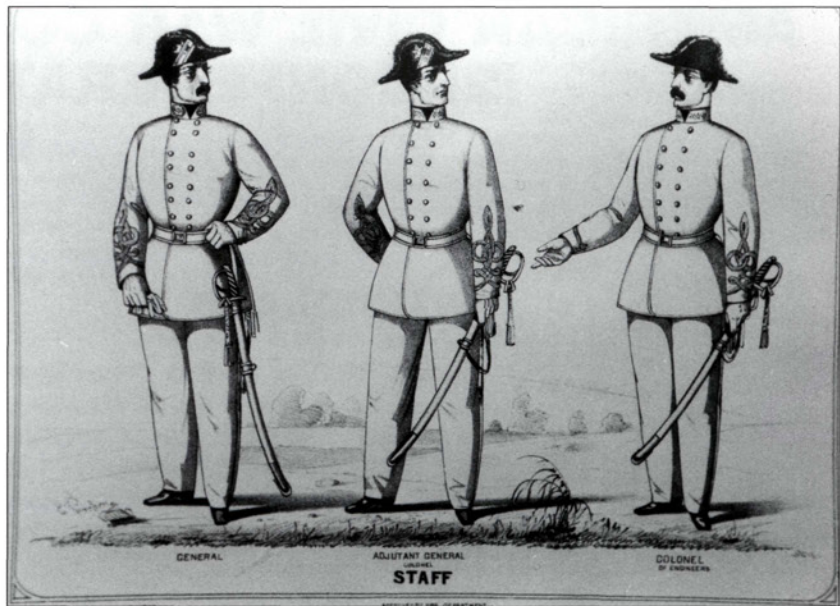


"His staff was small and efficient. I suppose that at this date there are some hundreds of men in the South who call themselves members of Lee's staff, and so they were if teamsters, sentry men, detailed quartermasters (commissary men), couriers and orderlies, and all the rest of the following of general headquarters of a great army are to be so considered. But by staff we usually confine ourselves to those responsible officers immediately about a general, and Lee had selected carefully. Four majors (afterwards lieutenant-colonels and colonels) did the principal work." These were aides de camps and adjutants, while the army staff also included such individuals as the chief of artillery, chief commissary, chief ordnance officer, and chief surgeon.

Not only were these too few officers to adequately perform the staff work for such a large force; but the men picked usually had civilian backgrounds – they were often, in fact, relatives of the general, with little knowledge and inadequate training for their jobs. E. Porter Alexander thought that this was one cause of the piecemeal attacks made by the army in the Wilderness: "I think this is but one more illustration of one of the inherent weaknesses of our army in its lack of an abundance of trained & professional soldiers in the staff corps to make constant studies of all matters of detail."

Pickett's divisional staff at Gettysburg included three aides, a chief of the division pioneer corps, a provost marshal, an assistant adjutant & inspector general and an assistant adjutant general, a commissary of subsistence, a chief ordnance officer, a chief surgeon, a quartermaster, and a paymaster. Enlisted men filled the posts of division postmaster, blacksmith, pioneers, headquarters guards, provost guards, clerks, teamsters, ordnance train guards, and commissary and commissary train workers.

Brigade staffs were even smaller, with most generals having simply an aide-de-camp, an assistant adjutant general, a quartermaster, a commissary of subsistence, an ordnance officer, and a couple of couriers, clerks, and wagoners. Some brigade staffs also included postmasters, surgeons, provost marshals, and assistant inspector generals.





An official Confederate Army print showing the regulation general's and staff officer's dress. The general officer is on the left, with a colonel acting as adjutant general in the center and a colonel of engineers on the right.

An official Confederate Army print of two staff officers: a colonel acting as quartermaster general on the left, and a surgeon ranking as a major, with black facings.

## BIOGRAPHIES

### ALEXANDER, Edward Porter (1835–1910)

Edward Porter Alexander (see Plate F3) was born in Washington, Georgia, on 26 May 1835, to a wealthy plantation family. Privately tutored, he entered the US Military Academy and was graduated third in the class of 1857. His intelligence being obvious to his superiors, he was assigned to duty immediately after graduation as an instructor at West Point, while being commissioned into the Corps of Engineers. Interrupting his teaching to serve on the Mormon Expedition in 1857, he returned to the Academy in 1858 and was promoted to a full second lieutenant's rank. The next year he assisted US Army Surgeon Albert J. Myer in developing a system of signals that used flags during the day and torches at night. In 1860 he was sent to Fort Steilacoom, Washington Territory.

When the Civil War broke out Alexander went to San Francisco, resigned from the US Army, and traveled to Richmond. He was immediately commissioned a captain of engineers in the Confederate Army, and was sent to P.G.T. Beauregard's Army of the Potomac near Manassas Junction to set up a signal organization. From one of the observation towers he had built on the ground around that army he provided early information on the Union flank movement during First Manassas (Bull Run). This earned him praise; he was offered the position of the army's chief signal officer, but preferred a field command. He transferred into the artillery and was assigned the position of chief ordnance officer – while continuing to serve as chief signal officer – of Beauregard's army, which eventually became the Army of Northern Virginia under Robert E. Lee. Alexander was promoted to major of artillery on 18 April 1862, and to lieutenant-colonel of artillery 60 days later.

Moxley Sorrel told a story about Alexander: "In the early days of the war I one day met him, mounted as usual on a very sorry, doubtful looking beast, with a pair of enormous holsters on his saddle-horn. 'And what have you there, Alexander?' I asked, thinking possibly of some good edibles. 'These,' he said, and drew out his long telescope for reconnaissance – a very powerful glass – and from the other an enormous old-fashioned horse-pistol of immense calibre, some tiny cubes of lead, cut from bullets, and a pinch or two of gunpowder. 'Quail,' he said, 'are eating up this country and I like them. This old pistol gives me many a mess of birds.'"

He served with distinction at Fredericksburg (13 December 1862); and when the artillery was reorganized into battalions in the winter of 1862–63 Alexander was named a colonel (3 March 1863) and given one of them to command. At Chancellorsville (May 1863) his handling of the artillery allowed the two Confederate flanks to unite; and at Gettysburg (3 July 1863) his guns preceded Pickett's Charge – indeed, Longstreet even had Alexander give Pickett the exact word when to commence the charge, so well did the corps commander trust the young artilleryman.

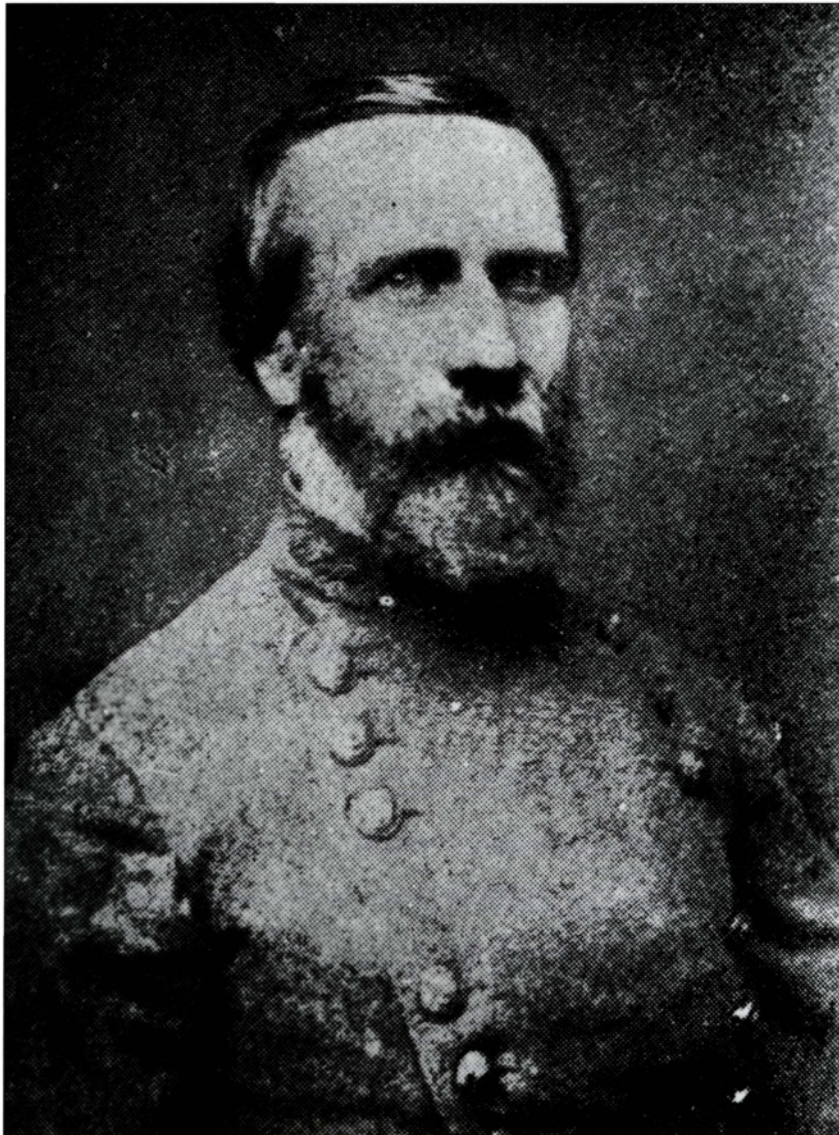
Alexander functioned as corps chief of artillery when Longstreet's corps went to Chickamauga and Knoxville. Seeing his work, the Army of Tennessee's commander requested that Col. Alexander be promoted to brigadier-general and assigned as chief of that army's artillery. Lee,



however, strongly objected: Jefferson Davis noted that Alexander was "one of the very few whom Gen. Lee would not give to anybody." Instead Alexander was commissioned a brigadier-general and named chief of artillery in I Corps of the Army of Northern Virginia on 19 March 1864. He designed many of the defensive works around Petersburg during that siege, retreating to Appomattox where his guns formed the Army of Northern Virginia's last defensive lines.

After the war Alexander held a number of positions. He taught at the University of South Carolina while investing in cottonseed production. Finally he entered the railroad business, where his record earned him the nickname of "the young Napoleon of the Railways." He retired in 1892, but was called into service as arbitrator of a boundary dispute between Nicaragua and Costa Rica, a job that lasted from 1897 to 1902. He returned home and died on 28 April 1910, in Savannah. He was buried in the City Cemetery in Augusta, Georgia.

Richard Heron Anderson was photographed in a plain gray frock coat with buttons arranged in threes, which indicated a major-general in the US Army. See Plate H2. (National Archives)



### **ANDERSON, Richard Heron (1821-79)**

Richard Heron Anderson (see Plate H2) was born near Statesburg, South Carolina, on 7 October 1821. Graduating 40th in the class of 1842 from West Point, he was commissioned into the dragoons, serving in the Mexican, Mormon, and Comanche Wars.

At the outbreak of the Civil War he resigned his commission and, on 16 March 1861, was commissioned a regular Confederate Army major of cavalry and appointed colonel of the 1st South Carolina Infantry Regiment, serving during the bombardment of Fort Sumter. He was promoted to brigadier-general on 18 July 1861, and assigned to the Army of Pensacola. He was wounded in the left arm during the Santa Rosa Raid. Charged with being drunk while under fire, he was transferred to the Army of Northern Virginia on 31 January 1861 before the court martial could meet.



Commanding a brigade on the Peninsula in spring 1862, he assumed command of Longstreet's division as senior brigadier at several points, and was named a major-general on 14 July 1861. He fought well at Second Manassas (August 1862), but a thigh wound sidelined him until mid-November that year, when he returned to command. On 7 May 1864, on Longstreet's being wounded, Anderson was given command of I Corps, since he had previously served in that command and was the best known to its men of all available major-generals thought capable of the position. He was given the temporary rank of lieutenant-general from 31 May.

He fought well at Spotsylvania, but the offensive he ordered at Cold Harbor failed due to unco-ordinated attacks. When Longstreet resumed command, Anderson was given command of P.G.T. Beauregard's old corps, the so-called IV Corps – amounting to little more than a single division – near Petersburg. There he fought at Gravelly Run and White Oak Road, retreating afterwards until his corps was essentially destroyed at Sailor's Creek. With nothing left for him to command, Lee relieved him from duty on 8 April 1865, but by that time Anderson considered the war wholly lost regardless of anything the Confederates could do.

E. Porter Alexander would write of him that "Gen. Dick Anderson was as pleasant a commander to serve under as could be wished, & was a sturdy & reliable fighter." At the same time, a civilian acquaintance and fellow South Carolinian, Mary Chestnut, described him as "the most silent and discreet of men." According to Moxley Sorrel, "His courage was of the highest order, but he was indolent. His capacity and intelligence excellent, but it was hard to get him to use them. Withal, of a nature so true and lovable that it goes against me to criticize him ... Longstreet knew him well, and could get a good deal out of him, more than any one else." Sorrel added that the "chivalrous, deliberate" Anderson "was a very brave man, but of a rather inert, indolent manner for commanding troops in the field, and by no means pushing or aggressive ... He seemed to leave the corps much to his staff ... I sometimes found myself sleeping in the same tent with him. He had a way on waking of sitting on his bed and proceeding to mend and patch his belongings out of a well-filled sailor's 'necessaire' he always carried – clothing, hats, boots, bridles, saddles, everything came handy to him. He caught me once watching this work, and said, smiling: 'You are wondering, I see; so did my wife when first married. She thought she would do the mending, but I told her I ought to have a little recreation occasionally.'"

Anderson was not very ambitious. Later in the war in West Virginia staff officer Francis Dawson was present when his command joined that of Jubal Early: "General Anderson ranked General Early, but did not wish to take command of his troops," Dawson noticed, "as he would necessarily have done when the two commands operated together."

The post-war years were unkind, and Anderson lived in near poverty, dying on 26 June 1879. He is buried in Beauford, South Carolina.

### **ARMISTEAD, Lewis Addison (1817–63)**

Lewis Addison Armistead (see **Plate E3**) was born in New Bern, North Carolina, on 18 February 1817. After early schooling he entered West Point in 1834; but his Academy career came to an end after only two years when he broke a plate over the head of fellow cadet Jubal Early.

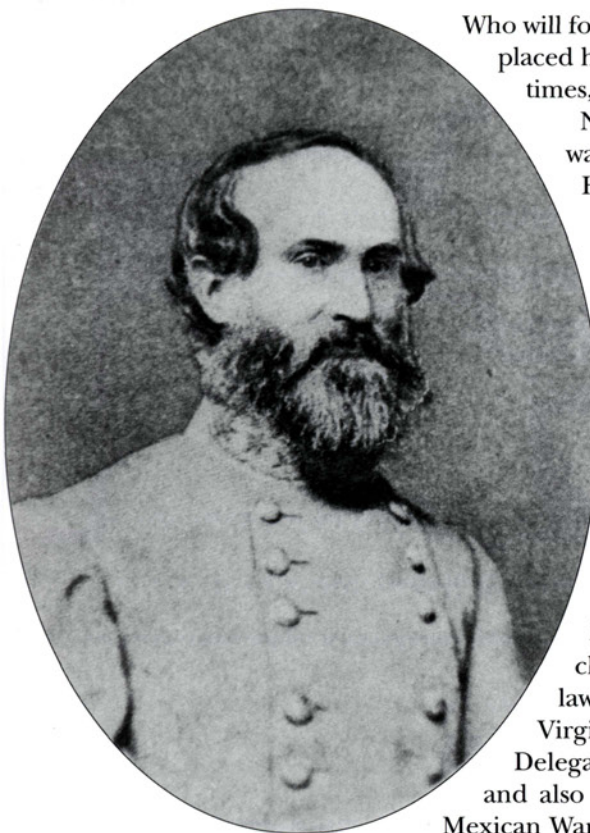
Despite this experience, Armistead still desired a military career and managed to win a direct commission in the US Army in 1839. During his service fellow officer John Magruder nicknamed Armistead "Lo," short for Lothario, and the nickname followed him throughout the rest of his life. The Mexican War found Armistead a lieutenant in the 6th US Infantry. With his regiment he saw action in the drive to Mexico City, although he missed the capture of the city as he was still recovering from a wound received in the assault on Chapultepec. He was twice breveted for bravery during the war, finishing it as a first lieutenant. He was promoted to captain, but resigned that rank on 25 May 1861 when the Civil War broke out.

Armistead was commissioned colonel of the 57th Virginia Infantry on 25 September 1861. After service that year in western Virginia and North Carolina, the regiment was sent to the defense of Richmond. He was named a brigadier-general on 1 April 1862, and given a brigade to command. During the fighting of 1 June on the Peninsula his commander, D.H.Hill, reported that Armistead's brigade "fled early in the action, with the exception of a few heroic companies, with which that gallant officer [Armistead] maintained his ground against an entire Brigade." As a result of the quality of his leadership, his brigade was given the job of leading the forlorn assault on Malvern Hill. Attacking in the teeth of tremendous artillery fire, the brigade lost 400 men in this action. One of Armistead's men felt that he was a "gallant, kind and urbane old veteran," although he was also known as a strict disciplinarian.

Armistead's brigade served in the reserve at Second Manassas in August 1862. In the Maryland campaign that followed Armistead was given the job of provost marshal with the task of sending forward the many Army of Northern Virginia stragglers. However, he returned to front-line duty at Sharpsburg (Antietam) the following month, when his brigade, attached to McLaws' division, attacked the Federals in the West Woods. There Armistead was wounded and had to give up command to one of his colonels. After he recovered his brigade was assigned to George Pickett's new division. It was held in reserve at Fredericksburg (13 December 1862), and missed Chancellorsville the following May when Pickett's division was sent to south-eastern Virginia that spring.

On the third day of the battle of Gettysburg (3 July 1863), Pickett's division was named a lead element in the assault on the Union center on Cemetery Ridge. The troops facing them were commanded by Winfield Scott Hancock, one of Armistead's closest friends in the pre-war US Army. Pickett placed his three brigades in two lines, two in the lead and Armistead's behind them. After an artillery barrage appeared to drive off the Union artillery from the objective, the infantry was ordered forward. Armistead himself, instead of remaining in the rear for better command control, strode at the head of his line, at some point during the advance sticking his black broad-brimmed hat on the point of his sword. As the march continued under Union fire that tore holes in the Confederate ranks, some noticed that the hat began to slip down the sword, so it eventually rested on the hilt. Crossing the Emmitsburg road, many men fell out of the ranks and ducked down there for cover from the fire that was destroying the division. Finally the remainder reached the wall marking the Federal front line. Armistead shouted, "Boys, give them the cold steel!"





Jubal Early appears here in a regulation general's coat with buff standing collar and his buttons arranged in threes.

Who will follow me?" He rushed through the mass of fighting men, placed his hand on a Federal cannon barrel, and was shot three times, in the leg, arm, and chest.

Notoriously, the attack failed with huge loss. Armistead was taken from the field; it is said that he asked for Hancock, but the Union general had himself been carried off seriously wounded. Although two of Armistead's wounds were minor, the third was apparently missed by Federal surgeons, and he died on 5 July. He was buried on the site at the George Spangler farm, but several weeks later his body was disinterred and embalmed. The Philadelphia doctor who had this done hoped for compensation for such an act by Armistead's friends, but none was forthcoming, and Armistead was eventually reburied in St Paul's Cemetery in Baltimore.

#### **EARLY, Jubal Anderson (1816–94)**

Jubal Early (see Plate G2) was born in Virginia on 3 November 1816. Graduating 18th in the West Point class of 1837, he resigned after service in Florida to study law. After passing the bar he practiced in Rocky Mount, Virginia, which he represented in the Virginia House of Delegates. He was appointed the commonwealth's attorney, and also served as a major of Virginia Volunteers during the Mexican War (1846–48).

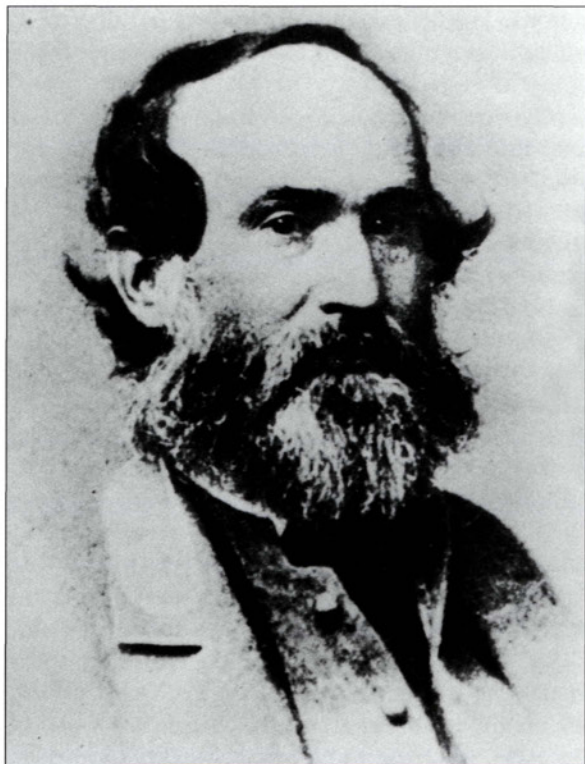
Although against secession, Early remained loyal to his native state when the Civil War began, and was named colonel of the 24th Virginia Infantry. Following his good work in July 1861 at First Manassas (Bull Run), he was appointed a brigadier-general on 21 July; and was promoted to major-general from 17 January 1863.

"General Early was a bachelor, with a pungent style of commenting on things he did not like," John B. Gordon wrote; "but he had a kind heart ..."

He was well respected by his superiors. Stonewall Jackson once demanded to know why he saw so many stragglers at the rear of Early's division; Early sent a message back "informing him that he saw so many stragglers in rear of my Division to-day, probably because he rode in the rear of my Division." Any other officer would have found himself under arrest for such a reply – but Jackson merely laughed.

With his subordinates he was less popular. Staff officer Henry Kyd Douglas wrote that "he received with impatience and never acted upon, either advice or suggestions from his subordinates. Arbitrary, cynical, with strong prejudices, he was personally disagreeable; he made few admirers or friends either by his manners or his habits ... If he had a tender feeling, he endeavored to conceal it and acted as though he would be ashamed to be detected in doing a kindness ..."

According to staff officer Moxley Sorrel, "Intellectually he was perhaps the peer of the best for strategic combinations, but he lacked ability to handle troops effectively in the field; that is, he was deficient in tactical skill. His irritable disposition and biting tongue made him anything but popular, but he was a very brave and able commander."



In the field Jubal Early wore a gray "sack coat" style with a turned-down collar, the insignia embroidered on a buff oval and sewn to the top of the collar – see plate G2.

Gordon felt that Early "was an able strategist and one of the coolest and most imperturbable of men under fire and in extremity." Despite this, "he lacked what I shall term official courage, or what is known as the courage of one's convictions ... [and had an] indisposition to act upon suggestions submitted by subordinates and his distrust of the accuracy by scouts ..."

"Quick to decide and almost inflexible in decision, with a boldness to attack that approached rashness and a tenacity in resisting desperation, he was yet on the field of battle not equal to his own intellect or decision," staff officer Douglas agreed, noting that, "He moved slowly from point to point ..."

Despite these flaws he was promoted to lieutenant-general from 31 May 1864. Later James Longstreet, who after the war had a number of conflicts with Early, wrote that he considered Early "the weakest general officer of the Army of Northern Virginia ..." E. Porter Alexander disagreed: "Early proved himself a remarkable corps commander. His greatest quality perhaps was the fearlessness with which he fought against all odds & discouragements."

Lee, who called Early "my bad old man," gave him command of II Corps and ordered him to drive the enemy out of the Valley of Virginia and threaten Washington, DC. In July 1864, as Early started off, one of Lee's staff officers, Lt.Col. Walter Taylor, a religious man, wrote home, "Don't tell anyone I say so, but I have feared our friend Early w[oul]d not accomplish much because he is such a Godless man. He is a man who utterly sets at defiance all moral laws & such a one Heaven will not favour."

In fact, Early's men reached the outskirts of Washington before overwhelming numbers forced their retreat to the Valley. There they were followed by troops led by Philip Sheridan who defeated the Confederates at Winchester and Fisher's Hill. Early turned and struck the Union troops on 19 October 1864 at Cedar Creek. Sheridan rallied his men there and drove the Confederates from the field, following his victory with attacks that destroyed Early's army at Waynesboro, Virginia, in March 1865.

Early never held command again, and traveled to Mexico in disguise after the Confederate surrender. Later he returned to Lynchburg and resumed his law career. A strong supporter of Lee, he was a founder and first president of the Southern Historical Society, spending much effort trying to prove that it was Longstreet who had lost Gettysburg. He died on 2 March 1894 in Lynchburg, where he is buried.

### **EVANS, Nathan George (1824–63)**

Nathan George Evans (see Plate A3) was born in Marion, South Carolina, on 3 February 1824. After schooling at Randolph Macon College he went on to the US Military Academy, and was graduated 36th



in the 38-strong class of 1848. It was while at West Point that Evans gained the nickname “Shanks,” due to the thinness of his legs. Commissioned into the dragoons, Evans served on the western frontier from 1849 to 1861. He resigned from the army as a captain in February 1861 to follow his state’s fortunes.

Made a colonel, Evans was in command of a brigade on the extreme left of the Confederate line at First Manassas (Bull Run) on 21 July 1861. There he discovered the Union flanking attack and rapidly redeployed to meet this threat; his actions were one of the most important factors in the Confederate victory. Sent to command in northern Virginia along the Potomac River, he was headquartered in Leesburg when Federal troops under Edward Baker attempted to cross the river at nearby Balls Bluff and attack his camp on 21 October. Evans reacted quickly and decisively to drive the invading force into the Potomac, for which action he received the thanks of the Confederate Congress and a gold medal from South Carolina. He was also promoted to brigadier-general with effect from the date of the engagement. One of the captured Federal officers from Balls Bluff, Lt. William Harris of the 71st Pennsylvania, described Evans at this time: “(He is known throughout his command by the euphonious sobriquet of ‘Shanks.’) His manners are courteous and dignified, being to a certain extent free from that peculiar mixture of supercilious pride and conceit which characterizes many of the officers in the Confederate army.”

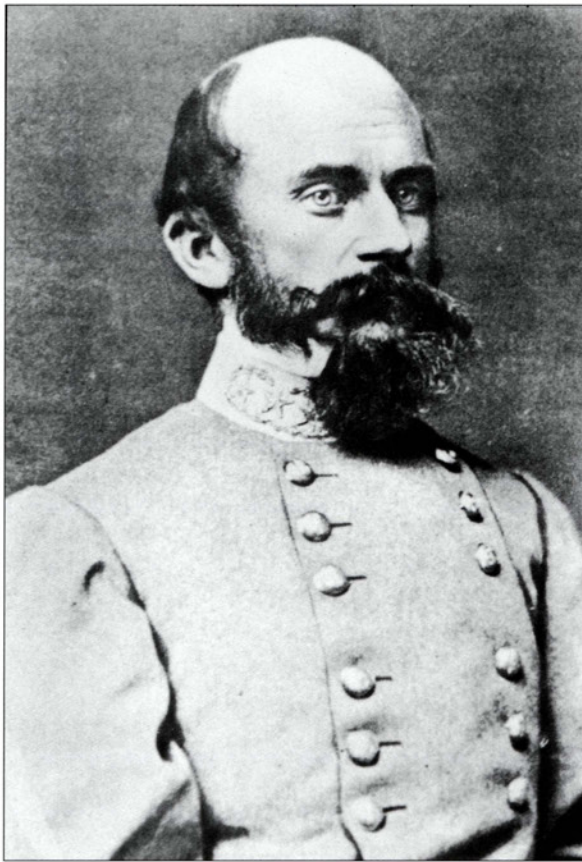
Evans went on to command a brigade, known as the “Tramp Brigade” since it showed up under so many commands, that fought at Second Manassas, South Mountain, Sharpsburg (Antietam), in the Vicksburg campaign in the west, and at Kinston, North Carolina. At the same time, however, Evans gained a reputation as an especially hard drinker – in an army that was filled with hard drinkers. “Genl Evans is one of the bravest men I ever saw, and no doubt a good officer when sober,” Longstreet’s staff officer Capt. Thomas Goree wrote home after Evans’ fight at Balls Bluff; “but he is unfortunately nearly always under the influence of liquor.”

Eventually ending up in North Carolina under command of P.G.T. Beauregard, Evans finally ran into trouble. Colonel Johnson Hagood, whose regiment was under Evans’ command in the Secessionville campaign, claimed that Evans did not obey orders to attack: “He was not court-martialed,” Hagood wrote, “for then, as ever afterwards, it was the bane of Confederate service not to hold its commanding officers to rigid account. Evans attempted indirectly to clear himself of the slur upon his reputation by court-martialing one of his colonels for drunkenness upon this occasion, alleging in the charges that this drunkenness had balked the attack.” Evidence at this



**Arnold Elzy, a West Pointer who was breveted for gallantry in the Mexican War, was the first colonel of the 1st Maryland Infantry. Named a brigadier-general for his service at First Manassas, he was badly wounded in the Seven Days' fighting and was never able to return to front-line command. On his return to duty he was promoted a major-general (December 1862) and given command of the Department of Richmond. Towards the end of the war he was transferred to the Army of Tennessee as chief of artillery, but did not accompany this army into Tennessee after the fall of Atlanta. Instead he surrendered in Georgia in May 1865, and returned to Maryland after the war.**





**Richard Ewell in a regulation general officer's coat; see Plate G1.**

trial not only showed the colonel guilty, but Evans as well.

Eventually, Evans was tried for intoxication by a court martial but was acquitted. Beauregard, however, did not like Evans nor trust his judgment. When Evans called for reinforcements in North Carolina, Beauregard complained to the Secretary of War on 6 January 1863, "it is dangerous to weaken forces here too much, considering [the] difficulty of getting [them] back in case of sudden attack by the enemy. I think General Evans must overestimate [the] latter."

Finally Beauregard relieved Evans of his command and placed him under arrest – though later releasing him – and asked the president to send him to another theater. The Confederate Army Adjutant and Inspector General, Samuel Cooper, wrote to President Davis on 7 January 1864 that he thought Evans should be sent before an examining board to see if he were fit for duty. In fact, Evans' military career was essentially over.

After the war he became the principal of a high school at Midway, Alabama. He died there on 23 November 1868, and is buried in Cokesbury, South Carolina.

#### **EWELL, Richard Stoddart (1817–72)**

Richard Stoddart Ewell (see Plate G1) was born in Georgetown, DC, on 8 February 1817. Appointed to West Point from Virginia, he was graduated 13th in the class of 1840 and was assigned to the dragoons. He received a brevet in the Mexican War, and was wounded in action against Apaches in 1859. He resigned his commission as a US Army captain in May 1861; and on 17 June was commissioned a brigadier-general in the Provisional Army of the Confederate States of America. He fought with distinction at First Manassas (Bull Run) in July 1861, and consequently was promoted to major-general on 24 January 1862. He was sent to the aid of Jackson in the Shenandoah Valley, serving under him there and when Jackson sped to the relief of Richmond in the Seven Days' Battles (25 June–1 July 1862).

Campbell Brown, Ewell's stepson and an officer on his staff, later recalled an occasion after First Manassas when Ewell and he stopped at a nearby house looking for buttermilk. Ewell asked the owner for a pair of scissors; and Brown was surprised to see him "pick up her scissors and begin cutting his own hair, without a glass or any guide except his fingers. He had half finished when she came out, and laid down the scissors, drank his milk and rode off with the hair on one side of his head cut short, on the other not noticed, but luckily not much of it at any rate and only an inch or so of difference – which I got him to have rectified a few days later."

Ewell saw combat in the Second Manassas campaign, and on 28 August 1862 was badly wounded at the battle of Groveton: his kneecap was split in two and the leg bone shattered, and the leg was amputated



shortly thereafter. Fitted with a wooden leg, Ewell returned to service and was named a lieutenant-general to command II Corps of the Army of Northern Virginia on 23 May 1863 after Jackson's death at Chancellorsville.

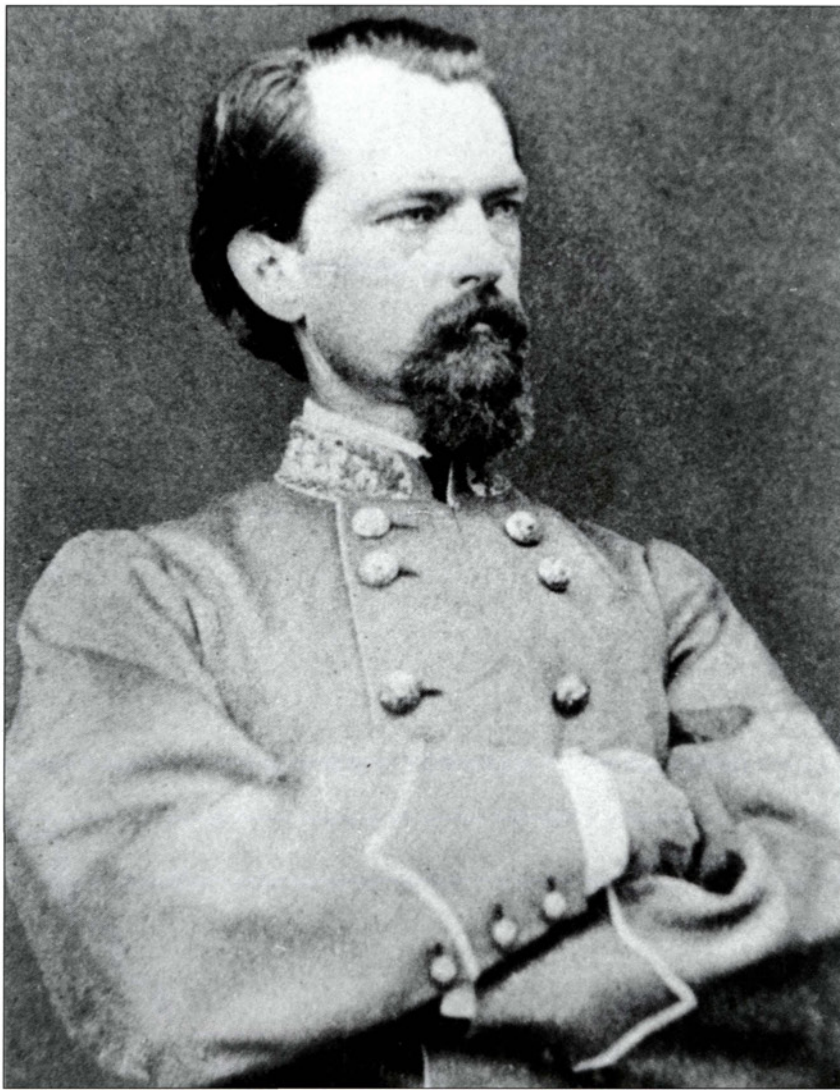
Ewell was greatly criticized for not carrying the Confederate attack forward in the waning hours of 1 July 1863 at Gettysburg, when the Federal troops might have been forced off Cemetery Hill. Usually bold in the attack, he halted and allowed the enemy to consolidate, eventually surrendering them the good ground from which they would win the battle. Ill health forced Ewell's retirement in 1864, after serving from Gettysburg to Spotsylvania, and he would not return to the Army of Northern Virginia again. When able, he was given command of the defenses of Richmond, evacuating that city with Lee's forces on 2 April 1865. He was captured with most of his command on 6 April at the battle of Sailor's Creek. After being released from a short term in the northern prisoner of war camp at Fort Warren, near Boston, he returned to take up farming near Spring Hill, Tennessee. He died there on 25 January 1872, and is buried in the Old City Cemetery in Nashville.

Moxley Sorrel recalled of Ewell: "A perfect horseman and lover of horses (racers), he never tired of talking of his horse 'Tangent,' in Texas, who appears to have never won a race and always to have lost his owner's money. But the latter's confidence never weakened and he always believed in 'Tangent.'" John Gordon, who felt that Ewell was "the oddest, most eccentric genius in the Confederate Army," said that he "was in truth as tender and sympathetic as a woman, but, even under slight provocation, he became externally as rough as a polar bear, and the needles with which he pricked sensibilities were more numerous and keener than porcupines' quills. His written orders were full, accurate, and lucid; but his verbal orders or directions, especially when under intense excitement, no man could comprehend ... [although] woe to the dull subordinate who failed to understand him!"

#### **GORDON, John Brown (1832-1904)**

John Brown Gordon (see Plate H1) was born in Upson County, Georgia, on 6 February 1832. He was educated at the University of Georgia, although he did not graduate. He pursued a number of ventures thereafter, practicing law in Atlanta and developing coal mines in the north-west corner of the state. He married Fanny Haralson, a native Georgian, in September 1854, and the couple had two children by 1861.

At the outbreak of the Civil War Gordon joined a Georgia volunteer company of mounted troops, the Wilkes Valley Guards, who elected him their first lieutenant. However, as infantry was more needed than cavalry when the war began, the company voted to convert to infantry. Gordon was quickly elected captain of the company, which renamed itself the "Raccoon Roughs" and was taken into service from Alabama as a company of the 6th Alabama, of which regiment Gordon became commander. As such he saw service at Seven Pines (Fair Oaks, 31 May-1 June 1862), in which, he recalled, "My field officers and adjutant were all dead. Every horse ridden into the fight, my own among them, was dead. Fully one half of my line officers and half my men were dead or wounded." At Sharpsburg (Antietam, 17 September 1862) Gordon was shot five times; the last bullet "struck me squarely in the face, and passed out, barely



**John Gordon wore a gray coat with white trim on the collar, cuffs, and front edge, with his buttons arranged in pairs, as per regulations.**

missing the jugular vein. I fell forward and lay unconscious with my face in my cap; and it would seem that I might have been smothered by the blood running into my cap from this last wound but for the act of some Yankee, who, as if to save my life, had at a previous hour in the battle, shot a hole through the cap, which let the blood out."

Nursed back to health over a period of seven months, largely by his wife who stayed with him at the hospital, Gordon was named a brigadier-general on 1 November 1862. Gordon's Brigade was one of the first on the field at Gettysburg on 1 July 1863, where he met in the early evening with Ewell and Early. He pleaded with them to allow his men to continue their successful drive. As he later wrote, "I did not hesitate to say to both Ewell and Early that a line of heavy earthworks, with heavy guns and ranks of infantry behind them, would frown upon us at

daylight ... There was a disposition to yield to my suggestions, but other counsels finally prevailed." There would be no attack on Culp's and Cemetery Hill, and the Union line, consolidated that night, would hold on for two more days of bloody attacks.

Gordon's command, part of Longstreet's Corps, went on to fight at Chickamauga and Knoxville in September and November 1863 before returning to the Army of Northern Virginia. His record thereafter was excellent, during both the Wilderness campaign (May 1864) and in Early's drive on Washington that July. In this latter march it was Gordon's troops who turned the Union flank and drove them from the Monocacy River, opening the way to Washington. On 14 May 1864 he was promoted to major-general.

Gordon suggested and commanded Lee's last offensive, a drive on Fort Stedman outside Petersburg during the siege – this would be the last time the Army of Northern Virginia attacked the Army of the Potomac. A combination of faulty Southern intelligence and a quick Union reaction doomed the attack, which failed with heavy losses. Petersburg fell shortly





**Gordon in another view with the same coat. He wears a US Army general officer's gold and red sword belt, and holds a black broad-brimmed hat with a gold hat cord. His weapon is a cavalry officer's saber. See Plate H1.**

thereafter; and Gordon, serving as a corps commander although not promoted to lieutenant-general, ended up commanding roughly half of Lee's troops on the march to Appomattox. Once there, Gordon led the surrendering Army of Northern Virginia to the field where it stacked arms and folded its colors for the last time.

After the war Gordon and his family settled in Atlanta. He became active in politics, working to have occupation troops removed from the state and home rule returned to Georgia. He was elected to the United States Senate in 1873 and again in 1891, and became state governor in 1886. He was also active in organizing the United Confederate Veterans, becoming its first commander-in-chief in 1890. He served as such until his death on 9 January 1904 in Miami, Florida. He is buried in Oakland Cemetery, Atlanta; and his statue stands in the grounds of the Georgia capitol building.

#### **GREGG, Maxcy (1814-62)**

Maxcy Gregg (see Plate C1) was born in Charleston, South Carolina, on 1 August 1814. He attended South Carolina College without graduating, and then joined his father's law practice. He was admitted to the state bar in 1839. Interested in things military, he obtained a major's commission in the 12th US Infantry in the

Mexican War (1846-48). Mustered out at the war's end, Gregg returned to the practice of law first in Charleston, and subsequently in Columbia, the state capital, where the outbreak of the Civil War found him. He was a member of the state Secession Convention and was appointed by that convention as colonel of the state's 1st South Carolina Volunteers, which was sworn in for six months' service.

Gregg was present with his regiment at the firing on Fort Sumter and then led it to northern Virginia. In July 1861 the six months were up and the regiment mustered out, but Gregg and his two other field officers remained in the field to recruit a new 1st South Carolina that would serve for the rest of the war. In December 1861 Gregg was commissioned a brigadier-general in the Provisional Army of the Confederate States and ordered to return to Charleston. There he was given command of a brigade of five regiments of state troops, which he brought back to Virginia in April 1862. His brigade was assigned to A.P.Hill's "Light Division," with which it saw action in the Peninsula campaign of April and May. The brigade's historian later reported that, "Gregg's brigade suffered in these battles to the extent of almost a thousand men, which was little less than half the force engaged in the campaign." Nevertheless, it went on to serve in the battles of Cedar Mountain (9 August), Second Manassas (Bull Run, 29-30 August) the capture of Harper's Ferry (15 September), and Sharpsburg (Antietam, 17 September). Gregg continued to build his

reputation in these actions; Hill called him "the gallant Gregg" in his report on Second Manassas.

Later in September Gregg's Brigade was withdrawn to Martinsburg and then to Winchester, Virginia, where it was resupplied and the men had a chance to rest and clean up. The unit was called to rejoin the main force near Fredericksburg, Virginia, in December, when a new Union drive threatened Richmond once again. Gregg's Brigade was posted in some woods on the right of the line in reserve, with two other brigades at his front. The men rested with stacked arms, brewing coffee on small fires.

There was, however, a gap of some 600 yards between the two Confederate brigades in the front line. "Unfortunately, Gen. Gregg was not aware of the interval between Lane's and Archer's brigades," wrote J.F.J. Caldwell, an officer in the command. "The interval was directly in his front. We could not see the front line, of course." The enemy struck Lane's and Archer's brigades and swarmed through the gap into the midst of Gregg's men.

South Carolinians in the first unit to be hit sprang to their feet and grabbed their weapons. "But Gen. Gregg, who was rather deaf, not being able to see the true state of affairs, and anxious to prevent firing into the first line of our own troops, (who must, in reason, fall back over us before the enemy could reach us,) rode rapidly to the right and ordered the men to quit the stacks and refrain from firing. In fact, he rode in front of the line, and used every effort to stop them." As he was doing this, "Gen. Gregg was, of course, an object of note, riding, in full uniform, in front of the regiment. The enemy fired upon him, and he fell, mortally wounded through the spine."

Gregg was carried from the field to a nearby residence, but died a day later, on 15 December 1862. His body was returned to South Carolina, and he was buried in Columbia. At his funeral, "which took place in all due pomp, there was hardly a dry eye in that brigade," wrote staff officer Richard Corbin. "General Lee considered him the best brigadier in his army. Shortly before his death it was rumoured that he would assume the command of the lamented Rhodes's division, and a worthy successor he would have made to that able general."

### **HAMPTON, Wade (1818-1902)**

Wade Hampton (see Plate C3) was born in Charleston, South Carolina, on 28 March 1818. A graduate of South Carolina College in 1836, he became the wealthiest planter in the state and was elected to both houses of the state legislature. When the war broke out he organized a legion consisting of an infantry battalion, an artillery battalion, and a cavalry battalion, paying for all the equipment – from cannon to uniforms – from his own pocket. He was wounded at First Manassas (Bull Run, 21 July 1861) at the head of Hampton's Legion. An old family friend, Mary Chestnut, recorded in her diary in March 1862 that among South Carolinians, "Wade Hampton is their hero. For one thing he is sober."

On 23 May 1862 he was commissioned a brigadier-general and given command of an infantry brigade, leading it in the Peninsula campaign. When Mary Chestnut congratulated him on his promotion he answered gloomily, "I was very foolish to give up my Legion." In July his branch of service was switched as he was given command of a brigade in Stuart's Cavalry Corps. He would serve thereafter in the cavalry until the end of the



war. He was a friendly sort: his staff appreciated the fact that he brought along a game board for backgammon, drafts and chess for their use.

In February 1862 Hampton had caught the mumps seriously enough that consideration was given to replacing him in command, but he made a full recovery. On 2 June 1862 Maj. James Griffin, one of his field officers, wrote home that Hampton "was wounded in the foot painfully, but not seriously."

Hampton would again be wounded at Gettysburg in July 1863, and this time severely. Nevertheless, he recovered and was appointed a major-general, ranking from 3 August 1863, to command one of Stuart's two cavalry divisions.

Hampton displayed the typical prickly pride of the Southern upper classes. In March 1864 he complained to his friend Mary Chestnut that, "Stuart had taken one of Hampton's brigades and given it to Fitz Lee. General H complained of this to General Lee - who told him curtly, 'I would not care if you went back to South Carolina with your whole division...' Wade said his manner made this speech immensely mortifying ...

"While General Hampton was talking to me, the president sent for him. It seems General Lee has no patience with any personal complaints or grievances. He is all for the cause and cannot bear officers to come to him with any such matters as Wade Hampton came."

Hampton considered his career in the Army of Northern Virginia finished and thought of asking for a transfer. However, Lee was above such matters of individual pride and, when Stuart was killed at Yellow Tavern, he gave command of the entire cavalry to Hampton. By this point resources such as replacement horses had become so scarce that a much better mounted and armed Union cavalry was able to outperform the Confederates in most of their encounters. Even so, Hampton served well, not

**Wade Hampton - see Plate C3 - wore not only the regulation collar insignia but also the black shoulder straps edged in gold that were regulation for South Carolina's officers, although they had been forbidden in the Confederate Army. The former commander and "proprietor" of the all-arms Hampton Legion was the richest planter in South Carolina.**



only keeping the Federal cavalry at bay but even managing one major offensive raid, the "Beefsteak Raid," in which his worn troopers captured a large Union cattle herd and brought it back to the main Confederate army, where it was much appreciated.

In January 1865, with Sherman's forces driving into South Carolina, Hampton was recalled to his native state to join J.E. Johnston in defending the Carolinas. He was given the rank of lieutenant-general on 15 February, to rank from the day before; Hampton was the only man to attain this rank in the Eastern theater who did not have a formal background of military training. On learning of this promotion Mary Chestnut noted in her diary, "Wade Hampton lieutenant general – too late. If he had been lieutenant general and given the command in South Carolina six months ago, I believe he would have saved us. Achilles was sulking in his tent – at such a time!" He would end the war in South Carolina.

After the war he turned to politics, being elected governor in 1876 and again in 1878. He was elected to the United States Senate in 1879, serving there until 1891. From 1893 to 1899 he served as commissioner of Pacific Railways. He returned to his native state thereafter, and died on 11 April 1902 in Columbia, where he is buried.

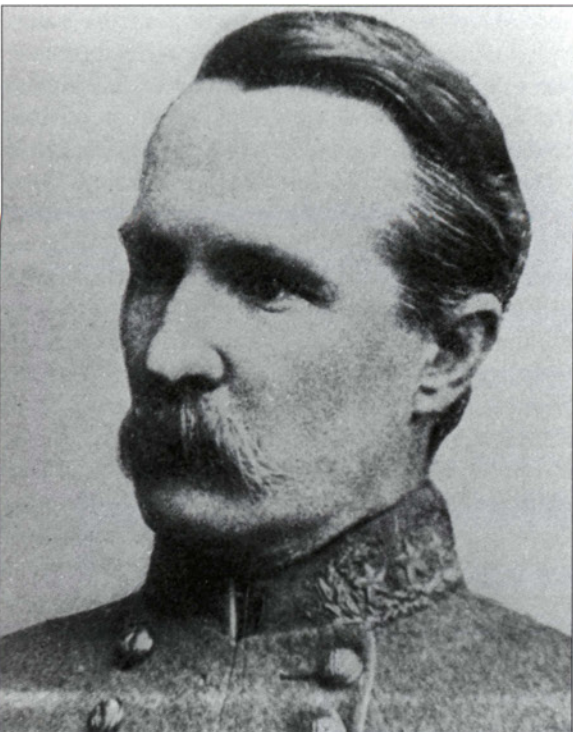
### **HETH, Henry (1825-99)**

Henry Heth (see **Plate E1**) was born in Chesterfield County, Virginia, on 16 December 1825. Attending West Point, he roomed with Ambrose Burnside, and the two were constantly in trouble for disobeying Academy rules. He was graduated, last in his class, in 1847, and was commissioned an infantry lieutenant. Assigned to the 1st US Infantry Regiment, he saw Mexican War service. He was incorrectly reported killed while fighting Indians on the frontier in 1855, but actually survived. He was married on 7 April 1857; A.P. Hill was a groomsman. By 1861 he held a captain's commission, which he resigned on 25 April, to follow his state out of the Union.

Heth was named colonel of the 45th Virginia Infantry Regiment and saw service in the western Virginia campaign of 1861. Despite its failure Heth did well; he was said to have been the only officer in the Army of Northern Virginia whom Robert E. Lee addressed by his first name. Jefferson Davis thought a great deal of Heth, offering him a major-general's commission and command of the Trans-Mississippi army. Heth, although not noted for self-doubt, said that he first wanted experience at a lower level. He was promoted brigadier-general dating from 6 January 1862. He saw service in the Kentucky campaign under Gen. Kirby Smith, and was subsequently nominated to major-general's rank, but his nomination was rejected by the Confederate Senate. The problem does not seem to have been any disapproval of Heth personally, but rather a general feeling that there were too many Virginians among the Confederacy's general officer ranks.

Heth was finally assigned to the Army of Northern Virginia in February 1863 and given command of a brigade in Hill's "Light Division." At Chancellorsville in May, due to casualties, he found himself in temporary command of his division, performing well in the field. Heth was again nominated to the rank of major-general, to rank from 24 May 1863, and this rank was finally confirmed by the Senate.





Henry Heth, photographed wearing a plain gray officer's coat; see Plate E1.

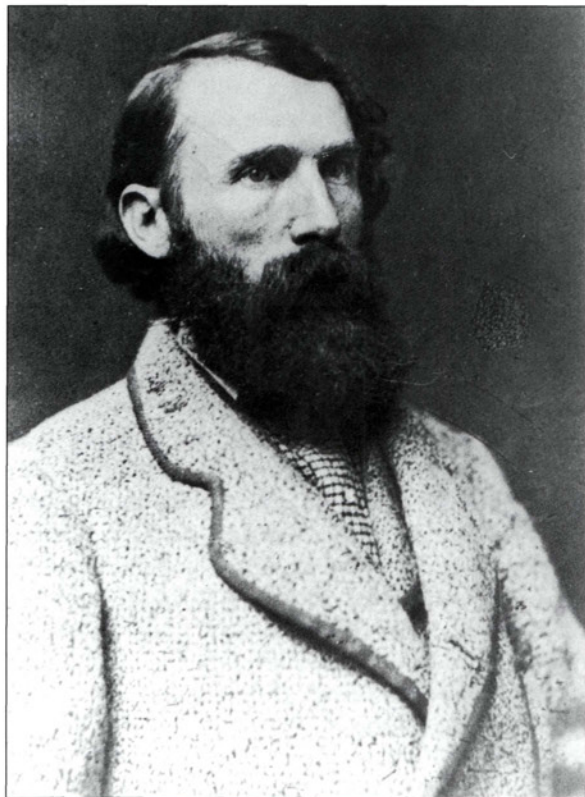
Heth is best known for sending his division into Gettysburg town during the 1863 raid through Pennsylvania, and starting a battle there on 1 July. Heth told one of his brigade commanders to go into the town in search of supplies, especially much-needed shoes, apparently not knowing that *Gordon's Brigade had passed through the town* only four days before and picked the shops clean. Heth told his brigade commander that only home guard troops would be found there at most. In fact the Confederates ran into well-placed cavalry of the Army of the Potomac. Heth was incredulous at reports of strong Union forces present and, while discussing the matter, was joined by his corps commander A.P.Hill, who also thought that there could be no more than "possibly a small cavalry vidette." Heth, with Hill's approval, sent in more troops, although Lee had specifically ordered that a full battle not be brought on. He deployed his whole division, figuring that "blood now having been drawn, there seemed to be no calling off the battle."

Hill agreed, issuing orders for a further assault that afternoon. Lee, by this time having reached the field, spoke with Hill and Heth, telling Heth to "wait awhile and I will send you word when to go in" – an order that soon arrived. Federal infantry had come up, however, including the famous Midwestern "Iron Brigade," and the Confederates had a rough reception. Losses on both sides were heavy, but finally the Federals were forced back. As they retired through Gettysburg town a musket ball struck Heth in the head while he rode across the west arm of McPherson Ridge. Luckily the hat he was wearing was somewhat too big, and he had folded paper between the sweatband and crown; this cushioned the blow. Still, the general fell from his horse unconscious just as the fight reached its climax.

Heth recovered from his wound and returned to the army, serving until paroled at Appomattox. Moving to Richmond after the war, he took up the insurance business. He died in Washington, DC, on 27 September 1899, and is buried – like so many other Confederate soldiers – in Hollywood Cemetery, Richmond.

**HILL, Ambrose Powell (1825–65)**

A.P.Hill (see Plate F1) – whose ancestors had fled to America after serving on the losing Royalist side in the English Civil War of the 1640s – was born on 9 November 1825 in Culpeper, Virginia. His father was a businessman who was always interested in things military and desired young Ambrose to attend West Point. He was graduated 15th out of 38 in the class of 1847, having roomed with George B.McClellan while at the Academy. For a time he had been forced to drop out due to an unexplained illness, considered by some to have been a chronic liver inflammation, possibly hepatitis. He may also have contracted a venereal disease shortly after graduating from the Academy. Assigned to the 1st US Artillery Regiment, he saw service in Mexico and Florida. In Florida



**An informal dresser, A.P. Hill wore a variety of uniforms including this civilian-style sack coat, edged probably in a yellowish buff and with the three stars of a colonel on the collar.**

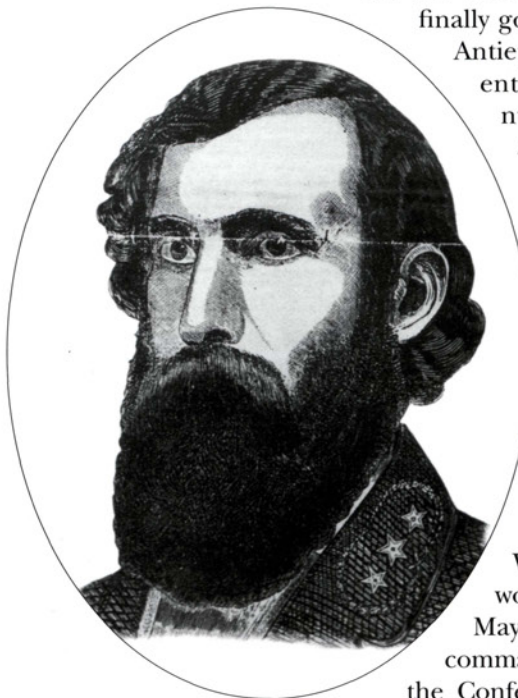
he came down with yellow fever, and thereafter he suffered bouts of this recurring disease throughout his life. Some, however, claim that Hill's periodic absences from duty were due more to psychosomatic than actual ailments. After a short time stationed in Texas, he was assigned to duty with the Office of the Superintendent of the US Coast Survey in Washington. There he courted the woman who eventually married his old roommate, Nellie Marcy; but a year later he married Katherine Morgan from Louisville, Kentucky. In March 1861, Hill resigned his commission to accept command as colonel of the 13th Virginia Infantry.

His regiment was in reserve at First Manassas (Bull Run), but he was still appointed brigadier-general on 26 February 1862. Fighting well in the Peninsula campaign, he was promoted major-general on 26 May 1862. He named his new command "The Light Division," although there was in fact no difference between it and any other division in the Army of Northern Virginia – the name was strictly a morale-builder. The division performed well at Cedar Mountain (9 August). In the 1862 invasion of Maryland, Stonewall Jackson, his corps commander, left him to take care of

the surrendered garrison at Harper's Ferry while the rest of the corps joined Lee at Sharpsburg (Antietam, 17 September). Finishing that task, Hill double-marched his men the 17 miles to Sharpsburg, arriving

on the flank just as Ambrose Burnside finally got his Union IX Corps across Antietam Creek to threaten Lee's entire position. Despite large numbers left straggling, the 3,000 men Hill brought with him saved the Army of Northern Virginia.

At Fredricksburg that December, Hill's judgment in deploying his division was poor, leaving a gap in his lines that caused the death of Maxcy Gregg (see above). However, his over-all position was so strong that the Federals were unable to break it. When Jackson was mortally wounded at Chancellorsville in May 1863, Hill was given his command. He continued to direct the Confederate assault when he was



**This is how most Southerners knew A.P. Hill: an illustration from the *Southern Illustrated News*, published in Richmond during the war. Cf Plate F1.**



struck across the calves of his legs by a shot. Although there was no visible wound, his legs were severely bruised and even partially paralyzed: one of his staff officers thought a bursting shell was responsible. In a few minutes Hill was able to walk again and continued in command, but it subsequently became almost impossible for him to walk or ride, and he turned command over to J.E.B. Stuart.

On 24 May 1863, Hill was given command of the Army's III Corps and promoted to lieutenant-general. It was in this role that his troops ran into Federals at Gettysburg on 1 July 1863. There ill health struck him once more; he did not distinguish himself in this battle, and Lee even took some of his men to give to Longstreet for the attack of 3 July.

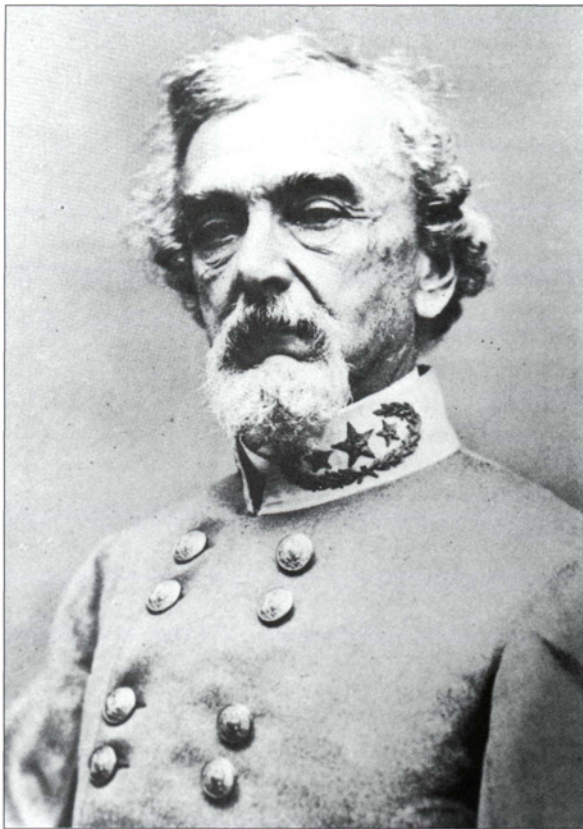
On 14 October 1863 at Bristoe Station, Hill struck a well-emplaced Federal force without adequate reconnaissance, losing some 12,000 to 14,000 men in the process. "I am convinced that I made the attack too hastily," he admitted later, "and at the same time that a delay of half an hour, and there would have been no enemy to attack." Lee never faulted over-aggressive behavior among his subordinates, and Hill retained his command. Although Hill's health continued to fail, he fought on through the Petersburg campaign.

On 2 April 1865, hearing reports of a Union breakthrough on his lines, he rode off with a sergeant to scout the situation. The two came across two Union infantrymen who fired on them, rather than surrender as Hill had ordered. One shot hit Hill's upraised left hand, taking off his thumb, and entered his chest, passing through the heart. The sergeant managed to save Hill's body; and he is buried in Hollywood Cemetery, Richmond.

Henry Kyd Douglas later wrote, "As a division commander he had few equals. He was quick, bold, skillful, and tenacious when the battle had begun; as at Mechanicsville he did his work dashing and well. In the Second Corps he gained his chief glory and deserved the reputation he had. It cannot be said he added to it when he commanded a corps. Perhaps, like Ewell, who was probably his only superior as a division commander, after Jackson too much was expected of him." After the war Longstreet would write of Hill: "As a leader he was fine; as a wheelhorse, he was not always just to himself. He was fond of the picturesque."

### **JACKSON, Thomas Jonathan (1824-63)**

"Stonewall" Jackson was born in Clarksburg, now in West Virginia, on 21 January 1824. Poorly educated, he was still graduated 17th in the West Point class of 1846. Commissioned into the 1st US Artillery Regiment, he distinguished himself in the Mexican War, being breveted captain on 20 August 1847 "for gallant and meritorious conduct during the Battles of Contreras and Churubusco." He was named brevet major on



Benjamin Huger was a West Point graduate who had served as chief of ordnance under Winfield Scott in Mexico. Quickly named a Confederate major-general on the outbreak of war, he evacuated Norfolk in May 1862, and did not live up to Lee's expectations as a divisional commander during the Seven Days' Battles. Relieved of his command in July 1862, he was assigned to duty as inspector of artillery and ordnance, mostly in the Trans-Mississippi Department - where Lee would occasionally send officers who proved unequal to his standards.

A portrait of "Stonewall" Jackson made in 1862 – his expression is less forbidding than in some other images. Kyd Douglas of his staff wrote: "He was quiet, not morose. He often smiled, rarely laughed. He never told a joke but rather liked to hear one, now and then." Note the plain gray coat with the collar stars attached on a black or dark bluebacking. Cf Plate D2.



13 September for his conduct at Chapultepec. Jackson resigned from the US Army on 29 February 1852 to take up a teaching position at the Virginia Military Institute. He also instructed African-American children at his local Presbyterian Church, of which he was a devout member. A Virginia militia colonel, he was named to command at Harper's Ferry at the outbreak of the Civil War.

Jackson was named brigadier-general on 17 June 1861, and took his 1st Brigade to First Manassas (Bull Run, 21 July), where his determined stand gained him – and his brigade – the nickname of "Stonewall" by which he has become known to history. Appointed major-general on 7 August, he was sent to West Virginia, but his poorly supplied troops failed to hold that part of the state. He was then sent to clear the strategic



Shenandoah Valley of Virginia of Union forces, and to divert troops from McClellan's army threatening Richmond. He demonstrated brilliant generalship in achieving this task; in his electrifying campaign of May–June 1862 his 18,000 men baffled, defeated, and tied down some 70,000 Federal troops by means of rapid marches and counter-marches. With the Valley now free, his forces were recalled to the defense of Richmond; but Jackson performed poorly in the Seven Days' Battles of June–July, and some believe that his lackluster performance was due to fatigue.

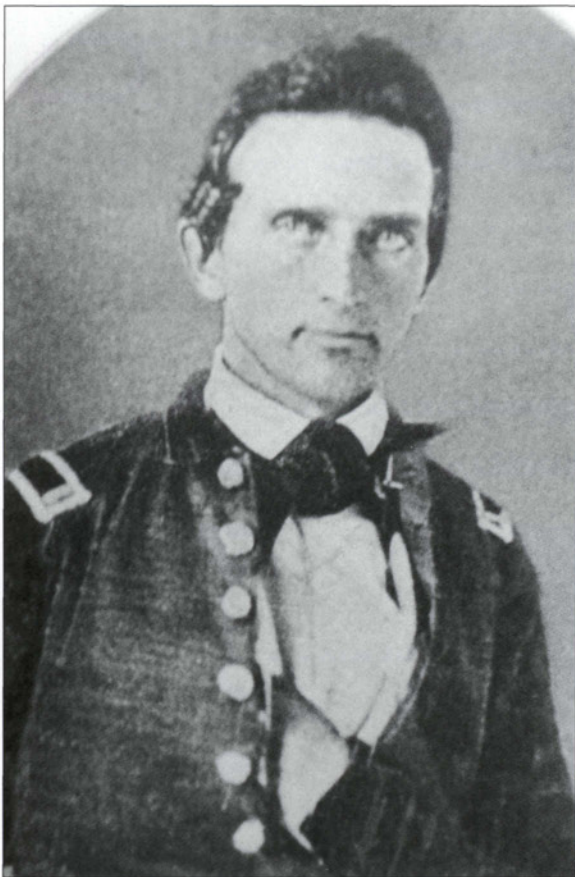
With Richmond safe for the time being, Jackson went north to stop a new Union Army of Virginia in its drive on the city, and his turning movement in August 1862 was the key to the victory of Second Manassas that followed on 29–30 August. In the subsequent Confederate invasion of Maryland he first captured Harper's Ferry, then sped to join Lee at Sharpsburg (Antietam), where his stubborn defense was central in saving the Army of Northern Virginia. Named lieutenant-general in command of II Corps on 10 October 1862, Jackson commanded the right wing at Fredericksburg on 13 December.

At Chancellorsville, Jackson suggested the flank movement that would smash the Union Army. On the night of 2 May 1863, while reconnoitering at Chancellorsville between two front-line North Carolina regiments, he was shot by jittery Confederate sentries. His left arm was amputated, but pneumonia developed and he died on 10 May. After lying in state in Richmond, he was buried in Lexington, Virginia.

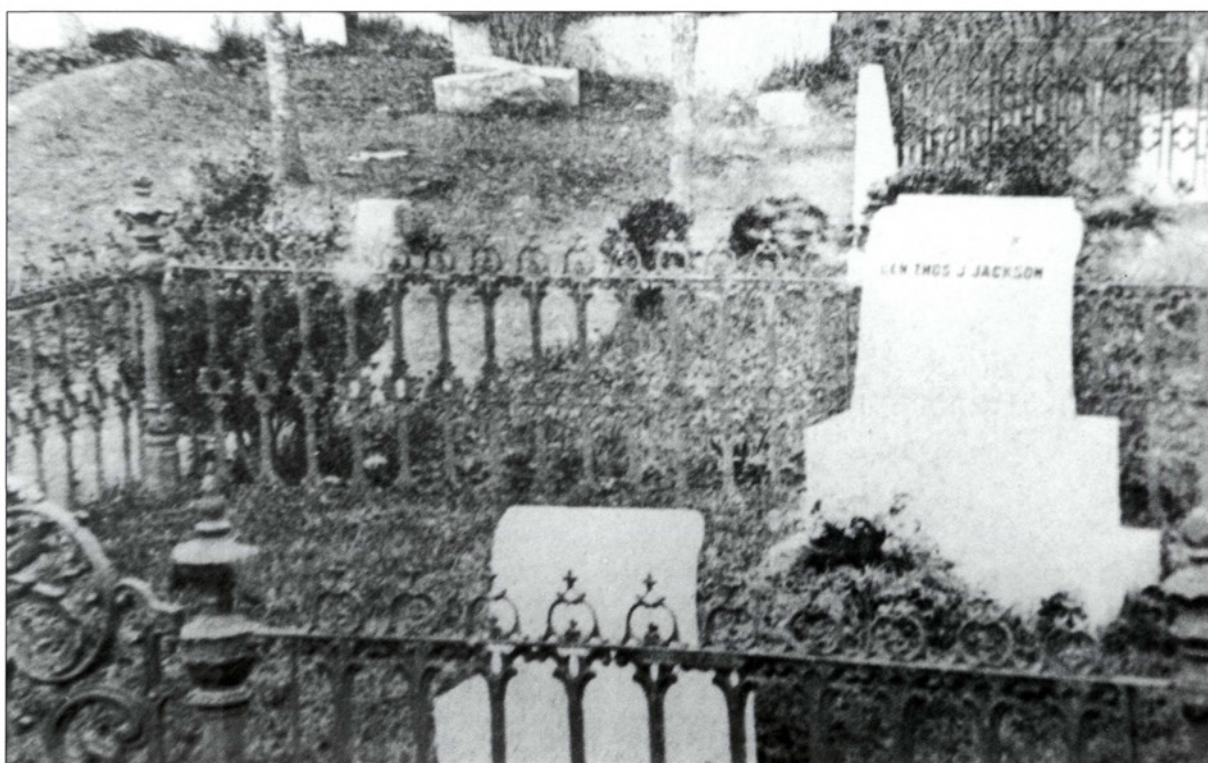
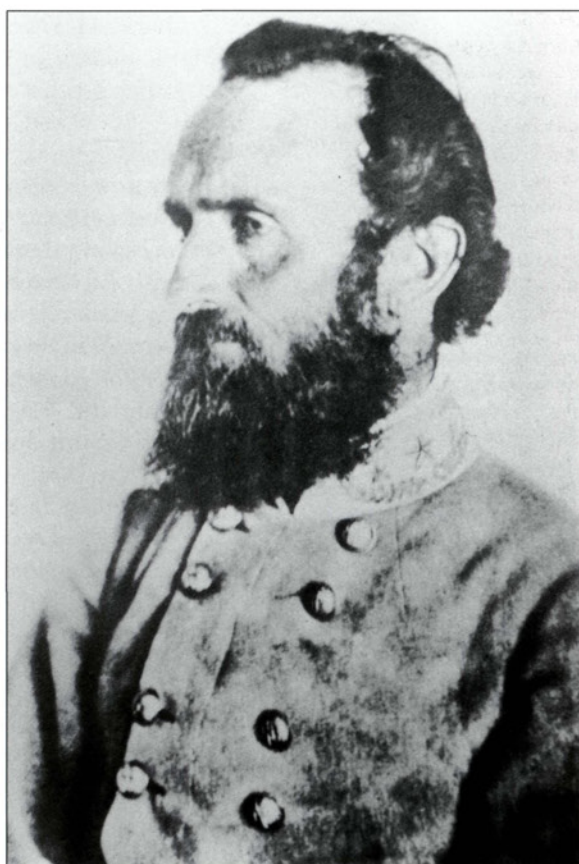
Various images of Jackson made during his career.

(Left) A Mexican War-period image of 1st Lt. Thomas J. Jackson of the 1st US Artillery (Library of Congress).

(Right) An engraving of Jackson, made from a prewar photograph, that appeared in *Harper's Weekly*. The uniform was never a regulation Confederate type, but was superimposed on prewar photographs of a number of Confederate generals by northern photographers.









OPPOSITE

(Left) Although Jackson at first wore his dark blue Virginia Military Institute uniform in Confederate service, he soon changed it for this plain gray uniform, in which he was photographed in 1862. Note the buff welt down the gray trouser leg. (Right) Not long before his death in 1863 Jackson received a new uniform with regulation buff facings. (Below) A period image of Jackson's final resting place in Lexington, Virginia.

Charles Blackford, 2nd Virginia Cavalry, wrote home: "No one seems to know much of him, not even those who are with him hourly. He has no social graces but infinite earnestness. He belongs to the class from which Cromwell's regiment was made except he has no religious hypocrisy about him. He is a zealot and has stern ideas of duty." His men, noting this, called him at first "Tom Fool Jack," and later "Old Bluelight," as well as "Stonewall." Nevertheless, Kyd Douglas of his staff wrote: "He did not live apart from his personal staff, although they were nearly all young; he liked to have them about, especially at the table. He encouraged the liveliness of their conversations at meals, although he took little part in it. As he never told his plans, he never discussed them." Jackson was concerned about his diet: Kyd Douglas recalled, "Whatever might be the variety before him the general selected one or two things only for his meal and ate of them abundantly. He seemed to know what agreed with him, and often puzzled others by his selections. I knew him to make a very hearty dinner of raspberries, milk and bread."

Later Blackford wrote: "He is ever monosyllabic and receives and delivers a message as if the bearer was a conduct pipe from one ear to another. There is a magnetism in Jackson, but it is not personal. All admire his genius and great deeds; no one could love the man for himself. He seems to be cut off from his fellow men and to commune with his own spirit only, or with spirits of which we know not." Perhaps this is why he was generally a poor judge of character, although he could certainly read an enemy's intentions.

The British military observer Arthur Fremantle wrote that Joseph E. Johnston had said of Jackson that he "did not possess any great qualifications as a strategist, and was perhaps unfit for the independent command of a large army, yet he was gifted with wonderful courage and determination, and a perfect faith in Providence that he was destined to destroy the enemy." E. Porter Alexander felt that this faith was actually a defect: "He believed, with absolute faith, in a personal God, watching all human events with a jealous eye to His own glory – ready to reward those people who made it their chief care, & to punish those who forgot about it."

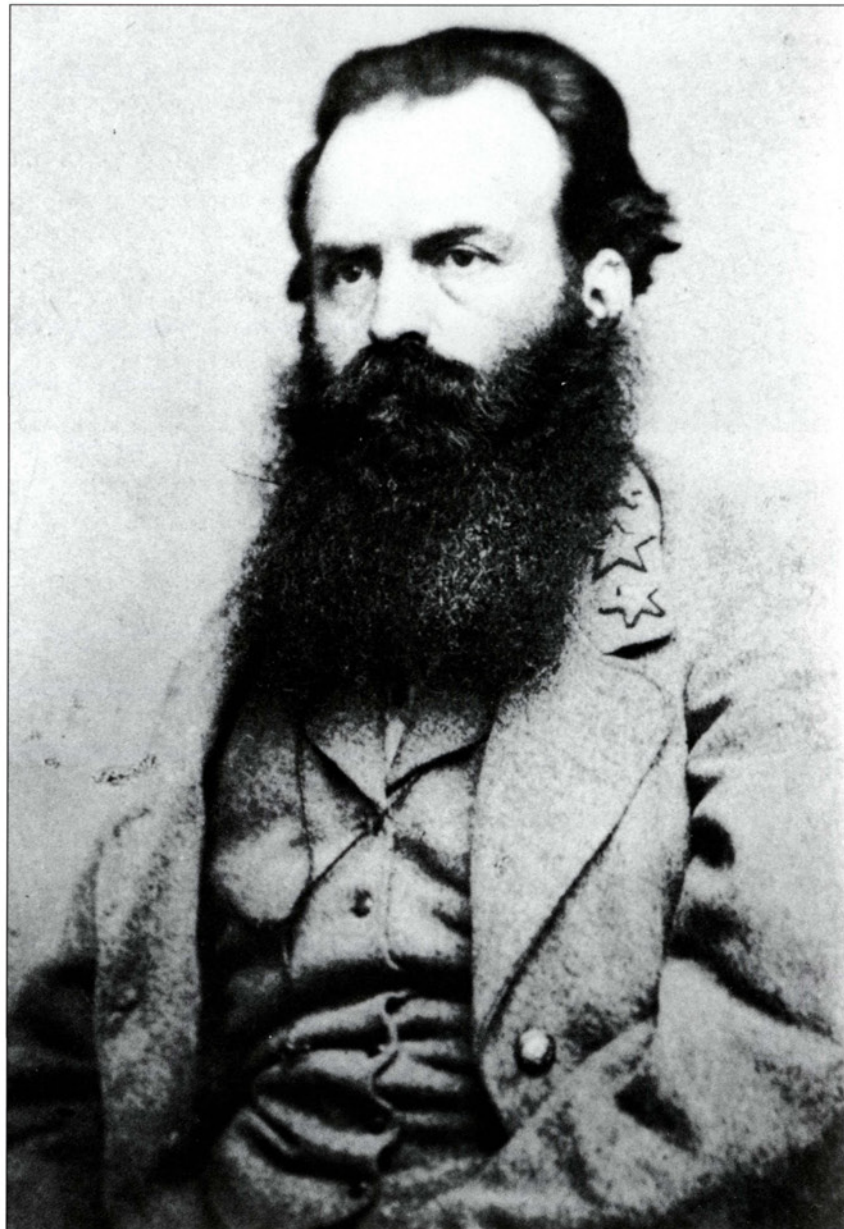
**KERSHAW, John Brevard (1822–94)**

John Brevard Kershaw (see Plate G3) was born in Camden, South Carolina, on 5 January 1822. His grandfather had lost his fortune during the American Revolution and his father died when he was only seven years old. Having attended a local school and then the Cokesbury Conference School, Kershaw quit to become a clerk in a dry goods house in Charleston. Finding that boring, he became a law student under a local lawyer, and at 21 was admitted to the bar. He was married in 1844. In the Mexican War which began two years later Kershaw joined Company C – from Camden – of the South Carolina Volunteers, "The Palmetto Regiment," as a first lieutenant. However, once in Mexico he contracted a fever and returned home in poor health after resigning his commission on 19 August 1847. His wife nursed him back to health, and in 1852 he was elected to the South Carolina House of Representatives; he was also a member of the Succession Convention. Kershaw was elected colonel of his local militia regiment, which served on Morris Island, outside Charleston, during the bombardment of Fort Sumter.

It was then that P.G.T. Beauregard called Kershaw "a militia idiot." Later the regiment was accepted into Confederate service and sent to Virginia as the 2nd South Carolina Volunteers. On 13 February 1862 he was named brigadier-general in command of a South Carolina brigade.

Mary Chestnut had negative feelings about the general. In September 1863 she recalled how he offered to escort her though busy Richmond streets. People did not clear the way for them, however, "soon enough to please him. He called out, 'These must be citizens, not soldiers. They do not make way for ladies.'" On 4 June 1864 she ran into him again in Richmond, where "He was still pushing his own promotion, even to the point of being polite to me. As the Christians say, it was his own soul he wanted to save. I heard of nobody else's."

Famous as a brigade commander in "Pickett's Charge" at Gettysburg, James Kemper served as a volunteer officer in the Mexican War and then went into politics. Elected colonel of the 7th Virginia in 1862, he was promoted to brigadier-general on 3 June 1862. Badly wounded and captured at Gettysburg, he was unable to return to the field after his recuperation. He was made a major-general on 19 September 1864, and commanded Virginia's reserve forces until the end of the war. He was elected Virginia governor in 1874, retiring in 1877 and dying on 7 April 1895. This civilian-style costume is a good example of Confederate generals' sometimes individualistic choices of clothing and insignia display.





Fitzhugh Lee, a nephew of Robert E. Lee, was a West Pointer in the class of 1856; he became lieutenant-colonel of the 1st Virginia Cavalry in August 1861. "Fitz" Lee was appointed a brigadier-general of cavalry in July 1862 and a major-general in August 1863, receiving command of a division of Stuart's Cavalry Corps at that point. He assumed command of what was left of the cavalry after Wade Hampton was sent to the Carolinas in January 1865, and held it until Appomattox. He was commissioned a brigadier-general in the US Army during the Spanish-American War, retiring at that rank in 1901 and dying four years later.



Kershaw, a politician, understood his men well. Once when the brigade crossed the Rappahannock River in winter, the watching general called to his shivering men, "Go ahead, boys, and don't mind this; when I was in Mexico ..." Before he could finish, one soldier called out, "But General, it wasn't so cold in Mexico, nor did they fight the war in winter, and a horse's legs are not so tender as a man's bare shins." Rather than punish the offender, Kershaw joined the men in laughter.

For continuing satisfactory service Kershaw was promoted to major-general with seniority from 18 May 1864. At Sailor's Creek on 6 April 1865 his division, then including some 6,000 men, was surrounded and most surrendered. Kershaw was sent to Fort Warren, from where he was released in July.

He returned to South Carolina and the law, being elected to the state senate in 1865. A member of the Union Reform Party convention, he

prepared resolutions that recognized the Federal Reconstruction Acts for the state – an unpopular move with many ex-Confederates. Still, he was elected judge of South Carolina's fifth circuit court in 1877. Citing failing health, he resigned from the bench in 1893. He was then named US Postmaster in Camden, where he died on 13 April 1894. He is buried in the Quaker Burial Ground in that town.

### **LEE, Robert Edward (1807–70)**

Robert E. Lee (see **Plate D1**) was born in Westmoreland County, Virginia, on 19 January 1807, the fifth child of Revolutionary War hero "Light Horse Harry" Lee. His father lost all his money and then died when Lee was 11 years old. While one brother went into the US Navy, Lee chose West Point, graduating second in the class of 1829 without a demerit on his record. Commissioned into the Engineers, Lee was sent to work on various seacoast forts until the Mexican War (1846–48). He also married, but his wife, Mary Ann Randolph Custis – who was related by marriage to George Washington – was later often ill and unable to follow him to different posts.

Lee served on the staff of Winfield Scott, the commanding general in the drive to Mexico City, and was slightly wounded at Chapultepec. He received brevets to major, lieutenant-colonel and colonel for "meritorious service" during the campaign. He was named Superintendent of West Point in 1852, serving until 1855 when he was appointed lieutenant-colonel of the 2nd US Cavalry. As commander of the forces at Harper's Ferry, Virginia, which suppressed John Brown's Raid in 1859, he was appointed colonel of the 1st US Cavalry on 16 March 1861. Lee would never take up that command; on 25 April 1861, he resigned his commission to accept the post of Virginia's chief general. He received a Confederate brigadier-general's commission on 14 May, and was then named a general to date from 14 June.

Lee's first assignment was to save the western counties in Virginia, but the badly supplied Confederate army, torn by dissention at the highest command levels, failed in this. Thereafter, he was sent to tour the south-eastern seaboard to examine defenses. Returning to Richmond in March 1862 to act at the president's military adviser, he was given command of the Army of Northern Virginia (which he named) on the wounding of Joseph E. Johnston on 31 May 1862. Thereafter he would remain with this force. On 23 January 1865 he was named General in Chief of the Armies of the Confederate States, but too late for him to affect the overall direction of the war very significantly. The details of his military career are available in too many biographies and analyses to be repeated in the space available here.

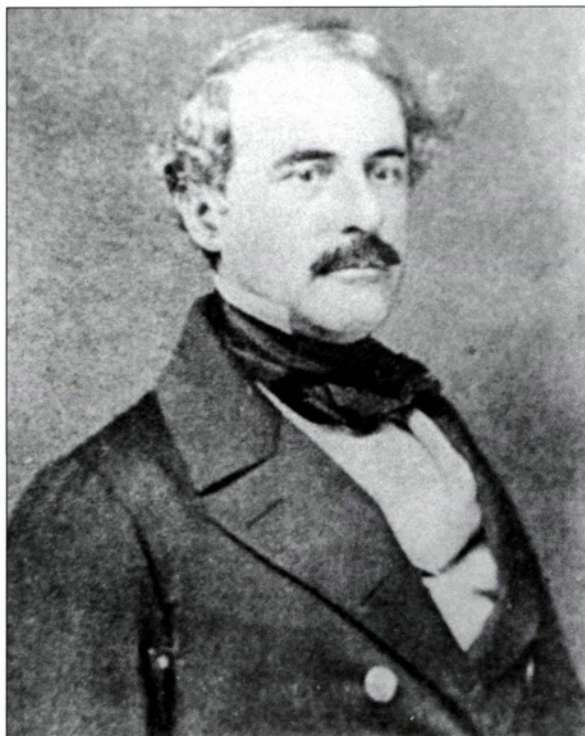
Richard Taylor, then one of Lee's brigade commanders, later wrote: "Of all the men I have seen, he was best entitled to the epithet of distinguished; and so marked was his appearance in this particular, that he would not have passed unnoticed through the streets of any capital. Reserved almost to coldness, his calm dignity repelled familiarity; not that he seemed without sympathies, but that he had so conquered his own weaknesses as to prevent the confession of others before him." Major Robert Stiles agreed: "He was of all men most attractive to us, yet by no means most approachable."



**Robert E. Lee. After 1863 he switched to a plain gray coat with an open turned-down collar rather than the standing collar he had previously favored – cf Plate D1.**



Lee, an elderly man during the war by mid-19th century standards, was often troubled by bad health. In early September 1862 he slipped while trying to catch his bolting horse, breaking bones in one hand and spraining the other so badly that he was unable to ride during the Sharpsburg (Antietam) campaign. He suffered a mild heart attack in early 1863, and was never wholly well again. Colonel Asbury Coward saw Lee in 1863 and again in early 1864: "I was struck by the change in General Lee's complexion. When I saw him the year before, his skin was a healthy pink. Now it was decidedly faded. He had aged a great deal more than a year in the past twelve months." By April 1864 Lee wrote to his son that he felt "a marked change in my strength since my attack last spring at Fredericksburg, and am less competent for my duty than ever." He was also tent-bound and ill for a time during vital fighting in the 1864 Petersburg campaign.



Various images of Lee made during his career and in retirement.

ABOVE

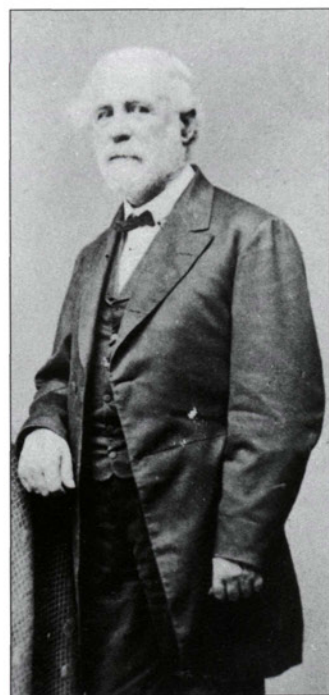
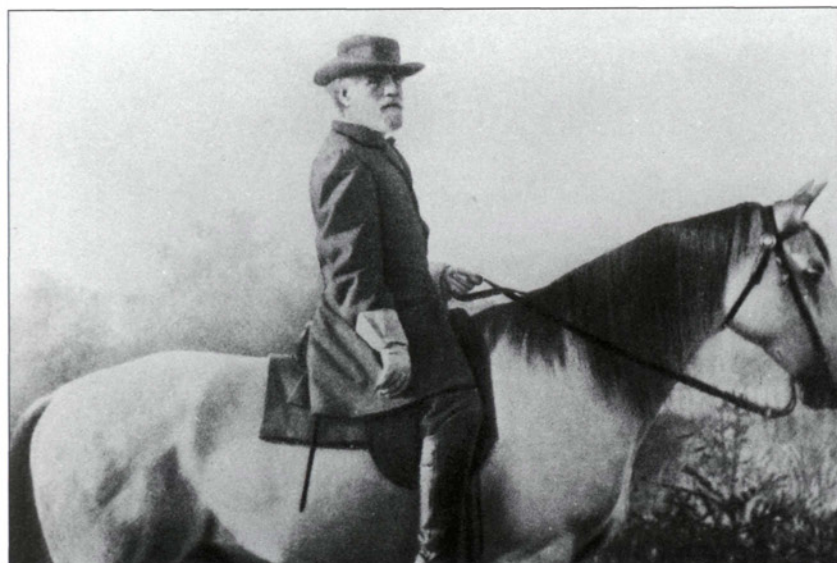
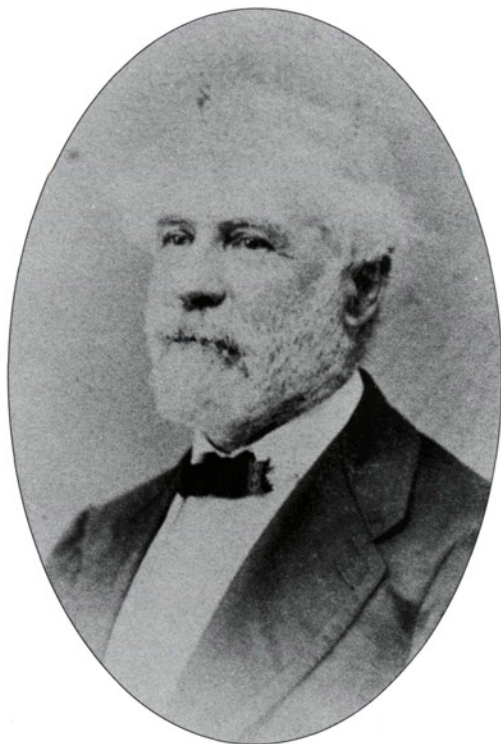
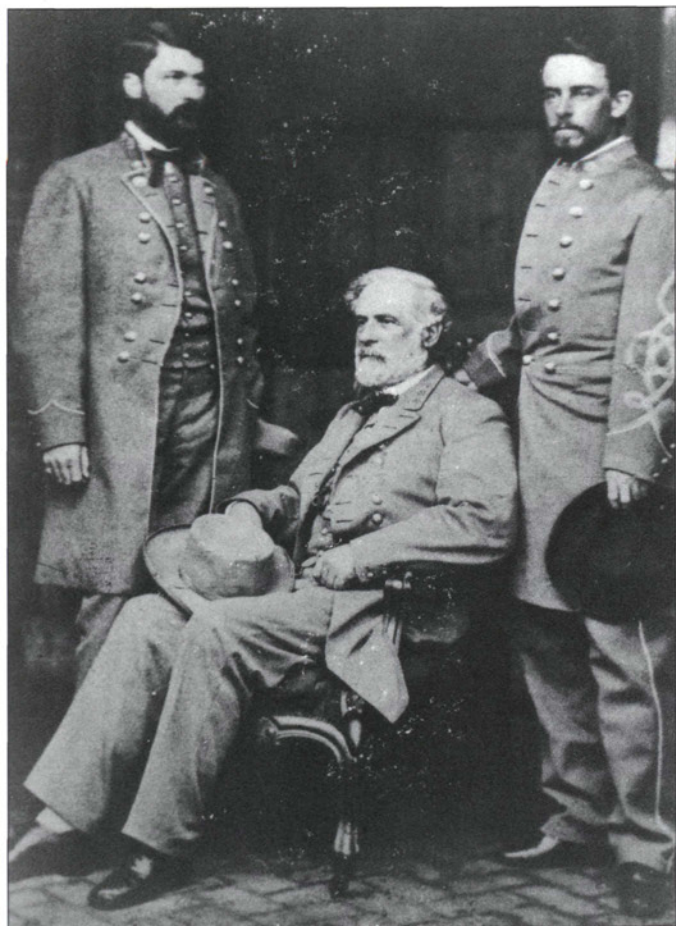
(Left) Lee photographed in civilian clothes just before the Civil War. This is how he first appeared in Confederate service, before growing a beard. (Right) Lee was known to most Southerners by this war-time illustration from the *Richmond Southern Illustrated News*.

RIGHT

(Left) Lee was photographed in Richmond in 1863; this *Harper's Weekly* woodcut made from the photograph shows his usual field garb, although it was noted that he often left the sword behind. (Right) A photograph of Lee made in Richmond in 1863 differs from the woodcut in that it shows a red-and-gold dress sword belt and buff sash. Note that the woodcut artist has also given him a standing collar instead of this open type.







**TOP** After surrendering at Appomattox, Lee was photographed in his house in Richmond with his son G.W.Custis Lee (left) and his aide Walter Taylor.

**ABOVE** Lee was photographed after the war in his usual Confederate field uniform and mounted on his favorite horse, Traveller.

**ABOVE** Two images of Lee taken several years after the war when he was president of Washington College, Lexington, Virginia. The war had turned his hair entirely gray.

In early 1864 Irishman Thomas Conolly met Lee, later describing his “large rich intense blue-ish grey eye, a beautifully shaped head, a most benign expression, manly healthful complexion, iron grey beard neatly trimmed, a nose slightly aquiline, a small well shaped mouth, erect with commanding porte & long graceful neck, solidly embedded in broad manly shoulders & deep chest the whole supported by a lightly knit muscular frame of more than the average height make together with an easy courteous manner one of the most prepossessing figures that ever bore the weight of command.”

Staff member Lt.Col. Walter Taylor wrote home in March 1864 that, “My chief is first rate in his sphere – that of a commanding general. He has what few others possess, a head capable of planning a campaign and the ability to arrange for a battle, but he is not quick enough for such little affairs as the one I have described. He is too undecided, takes too long to form his conclusions. He must have good lieutenants, men to move quickly, men of nerve such as Jackson.” The conventional judgement is that Lee was fatally short of such subordinates, and – ever the gentleman rather than the commander-in-chief – was fatally hesitant in controlling or replacing those to whom his delegation of responsibility proved unwise.

After Appomattox, Lee – who was regarded with adoration by most of his men, and complete respect by his opponents – retired briefly to Richmond. He finally accepted the post of president of Washington College (now Washington & Lee University) in Lexington, where he felt he could serve Virginia best by educating her sons. His poor health continued to plague him, however, and his heart finally gave out on 12 October 1870. He is buried on the university campus; and enjoys to this day a respect unique among the leading figures of the Civil War.

#### **LONGSTREET, James (1821–1904)**

James Longstreet (see Plate A1) was born in Edgefield District, South Carolina, on 8 January 1821. He graduated 54th out of 56 in the West Point class of 1842, and was commissioned into the 8th US Infantry, serving as regimental adjutant from June 1847 to July 1849. He was severely wounded while storming the convent at Chapultepec, Mexico, on 13 September 1847, and received brevets to captain and major for service at Contreras, Churubusco, and Molino del Rey. On 19 July 1858 he was commissioned a major and assigned to the Army’s staff as paymaster. It was from this rank that he resigned on 1 June 1861 to accept a commission as brigadier-general in the Confederate Army on 17 June.

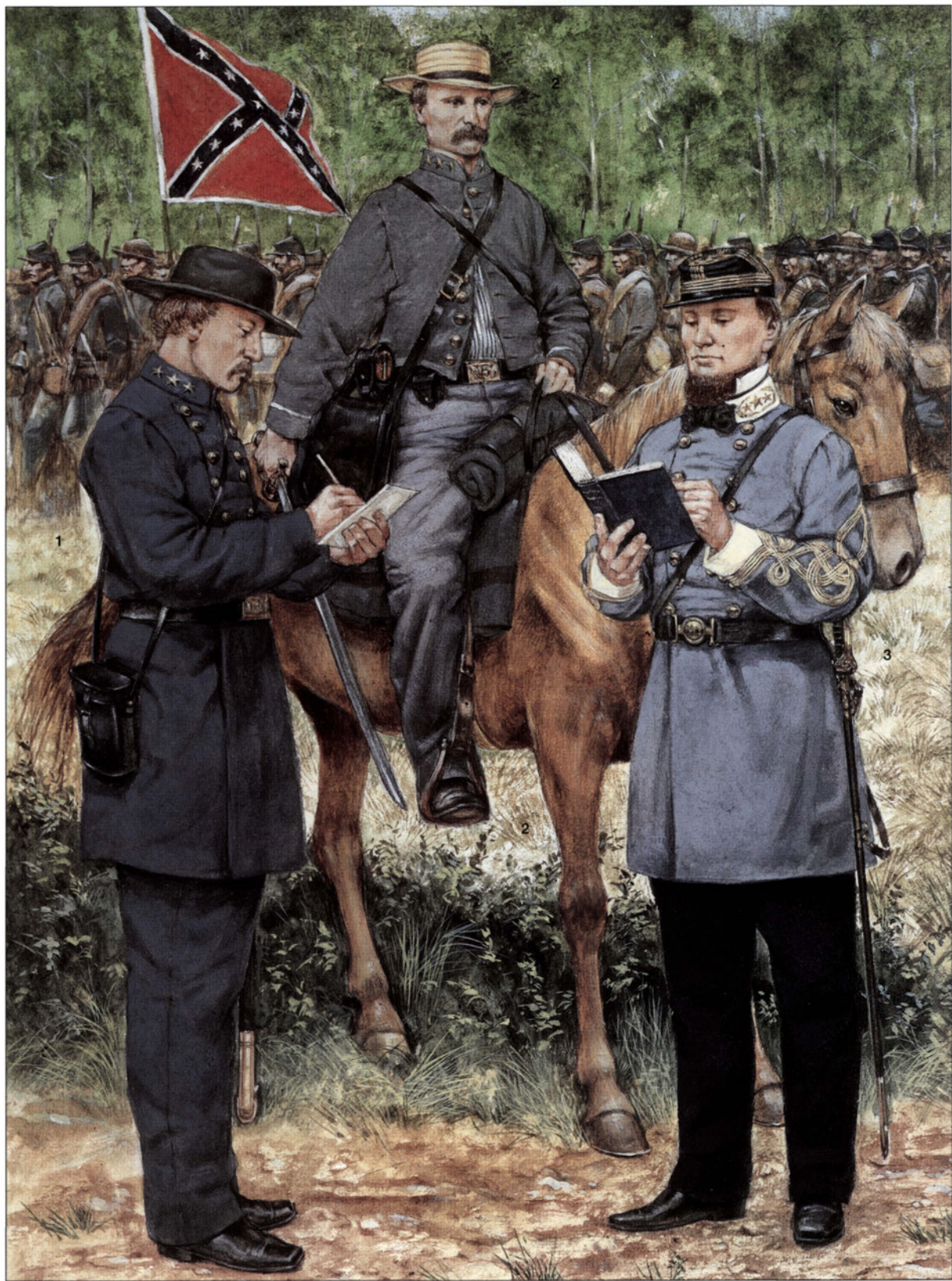
After fighting at First Manassas (Bull Run, 21 July 1861) he was promoted major-general on 7 October. His division was distinguished during the Peninsula campaign of April–May 1862, and Longstreet was named the service’s senior lieutenant-general and I Corps commander from 9 October that year. In 1862 two of his children died of scarlet fever, and staff officer Moxley Sorrel recorded: “It was while we were about Centerville that a great change came over Longstreet. He was rather gay in disposition with his chums, fond of a glass, and very skillful at poker. He ... [was] accustomed to play almost every night.” After the children’s deaths, for which Longstreet was present, he “resumed his command a changed man. He had become very serious and reserved and a consistent member of the Episcopal Church. His



1: Lieutenant-General James Longstreet  
2: Brigadier-General Rev. William Pendleton  
3: Brigadier-General Nathan Evans







**B** LEFT TO RIGHT 1: Brigadier-General William Whiting 2: Brigadier-General Cadmus Wilcox 3: Major-General Gustavus Smith





LEFT TO RIGHT

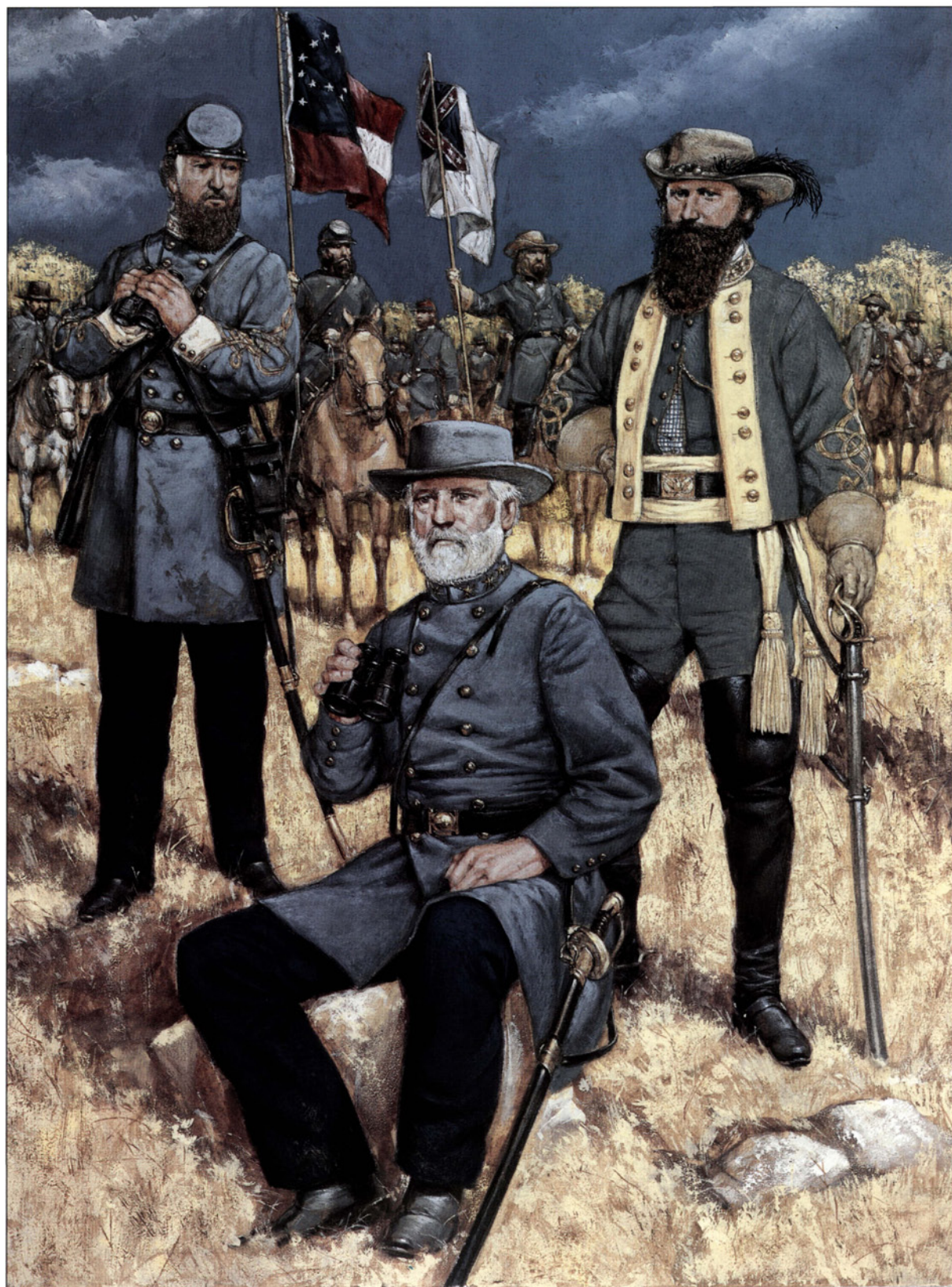
1: Brigadier-General Maxcy Gregg

2: Major-General Lafayette McLaws

3: Major-General Wade Hampton

C





**D**

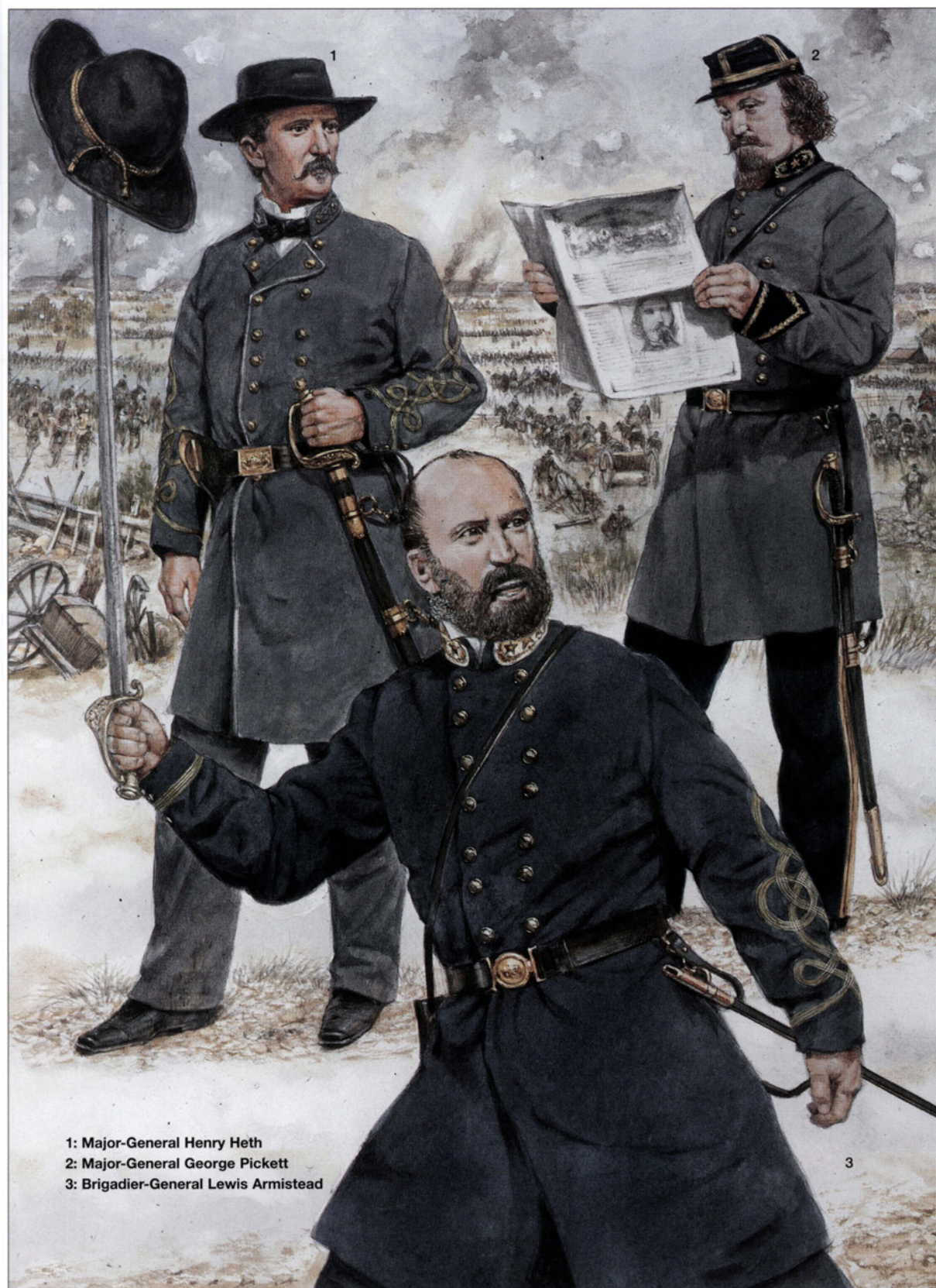
LEFT TO RIGHT

2: Lieutenant-General Thomas J. Jackson

1: General Robert E. Lee

3: Major-General J.E.B. Stuart





1: Major-General Henry Heth  
2: Major-General George Pickett  
3: Brigadier-General Lewis Armistead



- 1: Lieutenant-General A.P.Hill  
2: Major-General Robert Rodes  
3: Brigadier-General  
E.Porter Alexander





1: Lieutenant-General Richard Ewell  
2: Lieutenant-General Jubal Early  
3: Major-General John Kershaw





- 1: Major-General John Gordon  
2: Major-General Richard Anderson  
3: Major-General William Mahone





grief was very deep and he had all our sympathies; later years lightened the memory of his sorrow and he became rather more like his old cheerful self, but with no dissipation of any kind."

After Fredericksburg (13 December 1862) his command was sent south of the James River, causing him to miss Chancellorsville the following May. Returning, his I Corps was active at Gettysburg on 2 and 3 July 1863, including the charge against the Union center – a move that he bitterly opposed, preferring to slip around the Union right. Afterwards Lee's apologists blamed Longstreet for attacking too slowly and hence losing the battle.

Longstreet's corps was sent west that fall, fighting at Chickamauga (19–20 September). After a disagreement with Braxton Bragg, commander of the Army of Tennessee, his corps was detached to besiege Knoxville. Failing to take that city, he had to retreat (4 December 1863) when Bragg's siege of Chattanooga was lifted. When Longstreet was sent to Knoxville, staff officer Charles Blackford wrote home: "Between us I am much afraid there is a want of energy in General Longstreet's management of a separate command. I would trust him to manage men on a battlefield as implicitly as any general in the Confederacy, but when not excited his mind works too slow and he is almost too kind-hearted to have control of a department ... Longstreet is too phlegmatic to be efficient except when much aroused."

Returning to the Army of Northern Virginia, Longstreet fought well at the Wilderness on 6 May 1864; however, while he was riding along the front a Confederate regiment accidentally sent a volley his way, badly wounding him in the neck. His wounds, although serious, were not mortal, and he returned to the army at Petersburg. He was present at Appomattox for the final scene of the war.

Those who served with Longstreet often fell under his quiet spell. Captain Thomas Goree, a Texan on his staff, wrote in August 1861: "Genl Longstreet is one of the kindest, best hearted men I ever knew. Those not well acquainted with him, think him short and crabbed, and he does appear so except in three places: 1st, when in the presence of ladies, 2nd, at the table, and 3rd, on the field of battle. At any of those places he has a complacent smile on his countenance [sic], and seems to be one of the happiest men in the world."

Those who had only a slight acquaintance found Longstreet off-putting. Francis Dawson, assigned to his staff late in the war, said that this duty was not "pleasant," since Longstreet "was disposed to be



In 1861 James Longstreet was photographed in the new regulation Confederate Army general's uniform, including here an unusually short tunic, with gold-striped dark blue trousers and a buff sash. See Plate A1. (Lee-Fendall House)



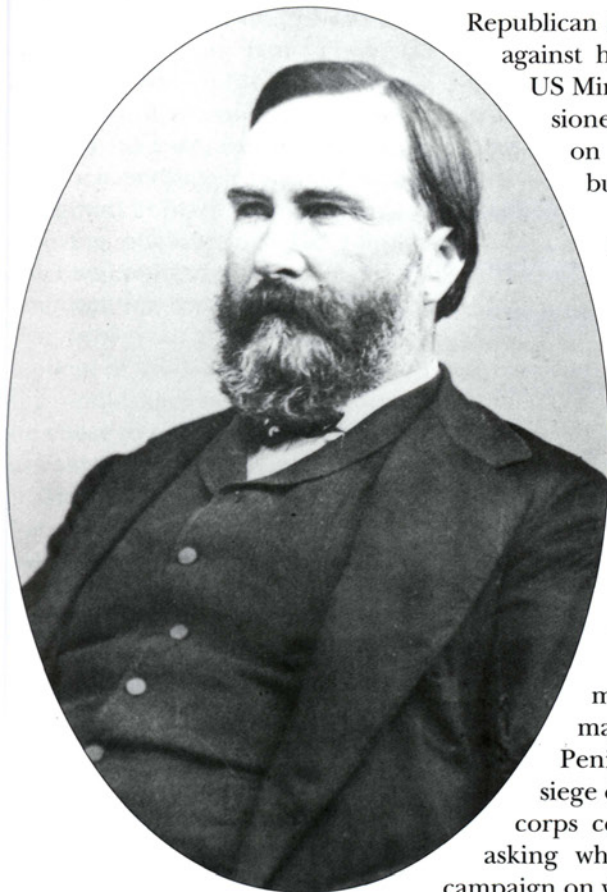
reserved himself ..." J.E.B.Stuart's staff officer Lt.Col. W.W.Blackford wrote that Longstreet "impressed me then as a man of limited capacity who acquired reputation for wisdom by never saying anything – the old story of the owl. I do not remember ever hearing him say half a dozen words, beyond 'yes' or 'no,' in a consecutive sentence, although often in company with his old companions of the old army." One reason Longstreet gave this impression was simply that he was notably hard of hearing, and therefore did not like to mix in group conversations. Longstreet was known to his men as "Old Peter," the "Old Warhorse," and after Chickamauga "Bull of the Woods." Lee called him "My Old Warhorse."

After the war Longstreet moved to New Orleans and became a



**A *Harper's Weekly* woodcut made from a wartime photograph of Longstreet in his mid-war uniform. This skillful engraving seems to capture the character of the subject with unusual sensitivity. In 1862 two of his children died of scarlet fever, in his presence, and the formerly convivial drinker and card-player returned to the army a much-changed man.**





Republican Party member, which turned many ex-Confederates against him. A personal friend of U.S. Grant, he became US Minister to Turkey in 1880. He then served as commissioner of Pacific Railroads from 1897 to 1904. He died on 2 January 1904 in Gainesville, Georgia, and is buried there.

### **McLAWS, Lafayette (1821–97)**

Lafayette McLaws (see **Plate C2**) was born in Augusta, Georgia, on 15 January 1821. He graduated 48th in the West Point class of 1842, six places above James Longstreet – with whom he would later have a difficult history. Commissioned into the 7th US Infantry, he saw undistinguished service in the Mexican War. He served as acting assistant adjutant-general of the Department of New Mexico from 1849 to 1851. Resigning his captain's commission on 23 March 1861, he was named colonel of the 10th Georgia Infantry.

McLaws received a brigadier-general's commission on 25 September 1861, and was promoted to major-general on 23 May 1862 for his showing in the Peninsula campaign. Thereafter he served well until the siege of Knoxville. On 17 December 1863, Longstreet, his corps commander, ordered him relieved from duty. On asking why, Longstreet's reply was "that throughout the campaign on which we are engaged, you have exhibited a want of confidence in the efforts and plans which the commanding general has thought proper to adopt and he is apprehensive that this feeling will extend more or less to the troops under your command."

In fact, Longstreet felt McLaws stood in the way of the promotion of Micah Jenkins to the command of J.B.Hood's division, a post left vacant when Hood was given command of the Army of Tennessee. In the event neither one of them was named to this command, but Longstreet continued to block McLaws' promotion – something that did not win him friends in Richmond. McLaws demanded and received a court of inquiry, in which he was charged with neglect and want of preparation at Knoxville. He was found not guilty of all but one specification, and Jefferson Davis disapproved the court's findings and ordered McLaws restored to duty. In the heated exchange of letters that followed Longstreet, backed by Lee, threatened to resign rather than have McLaws in his command. Rather than allow this to happen, McLaws was assigned a backwater post in Georgia. He thereafter served under Joseph Johnston, finally surrendering with him at Greensboro, North Carolina.

Major Robert Stiles wrote: "McLaws was rather a peculiar personality. He certainly could not be called an intellectual man, nor was he a brilliant and aggressive soldier; but he was regarded as one of the most dogged defensive fighters in the army ... His men were respectful, but not enthusiastic on this occasion [of a visit to their camp]. For the most part they kept right on with what they happened to be doing when the

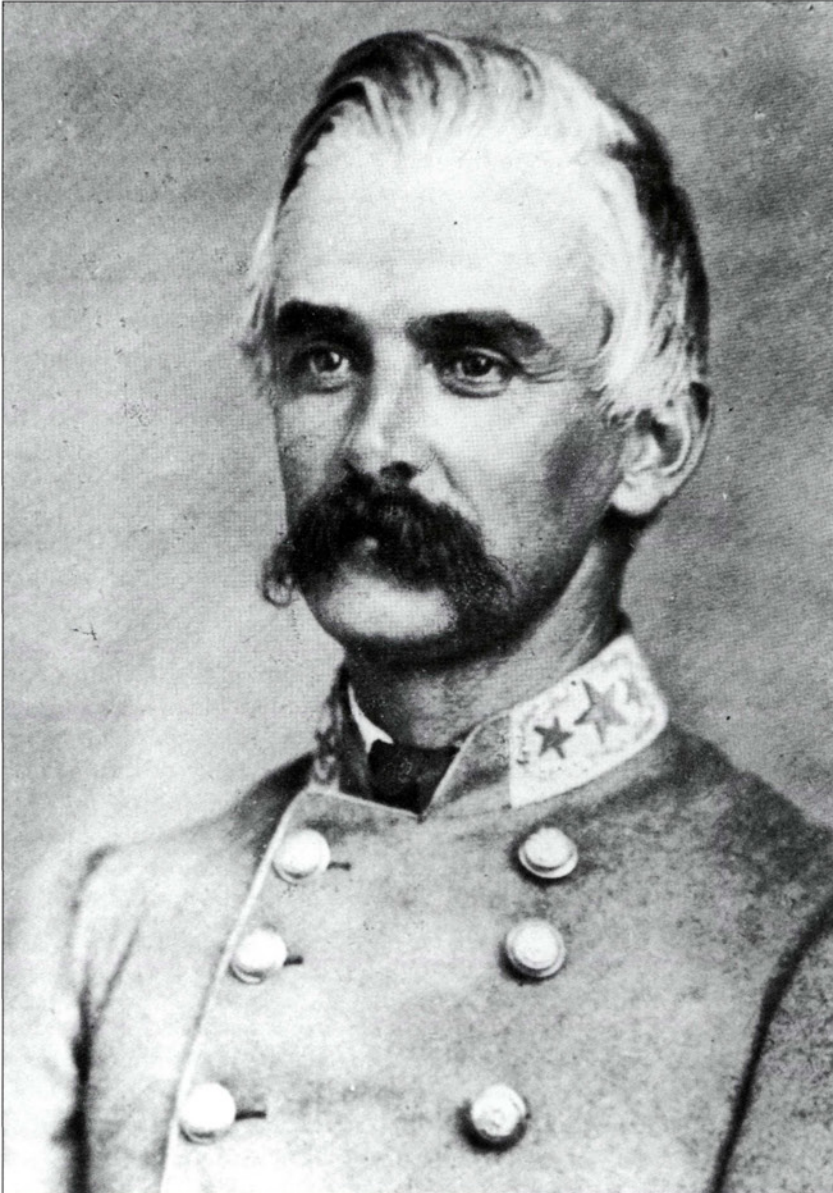
After the war Longstreet put on weight. He became a Republican, and was a convinced believer in the necessity for the South to put wartime hatreds behind it and look to the future of the Union – a stance which made him unpopular with many other former Confederates.



General arrived – cooking, cleaning their arms and accoutrements, or whatever else it may be.”

Another example of McLaws’ easy discipline with volunteers came in Georgia, where some soldiers of the 1st Georgia Regiment (Regulars) were caught stealing a hog. In the words of 1st Sgt. W.H.Andrews, they were “carried to Gen McLaws’ headquarters where the hog was taken from them, their names and regiments taken, and then turned loose threatening to deal with them afterwards. The boys lost the hog and never heard anything more about it.”

After the war McLaws returned to Augusta, where he went into the insurance business. He was collector of internal revenue and postmaster at Savannah in 1875–76. He died in that city on 24 July 1897, and is buried there.



Thomas Munford, a Virginian, was one of those who rose to high field command in the Army of Northern Virginia without ever officially receiving such a commission. As colonel commanding the 2nd Virginia Cavalry, he was leading a brigade in Stuart's Cavalry Corps as early as May 1863, although he reverted to regimental command at several points before being officially appointed a brigade commander – although never commissioned as a brigadier-general – in November 1864. In early 1865 he was given command of a division in the Cavalry Corps, which he led until the end of the war. He brought his division out of the trap at Appomattox and disbanded it at Lynchburg after Lee's surrender. Although he never received a general's commission, he was photographed in this general officer's uniform.



### **MAHONE, William (1826-95)**

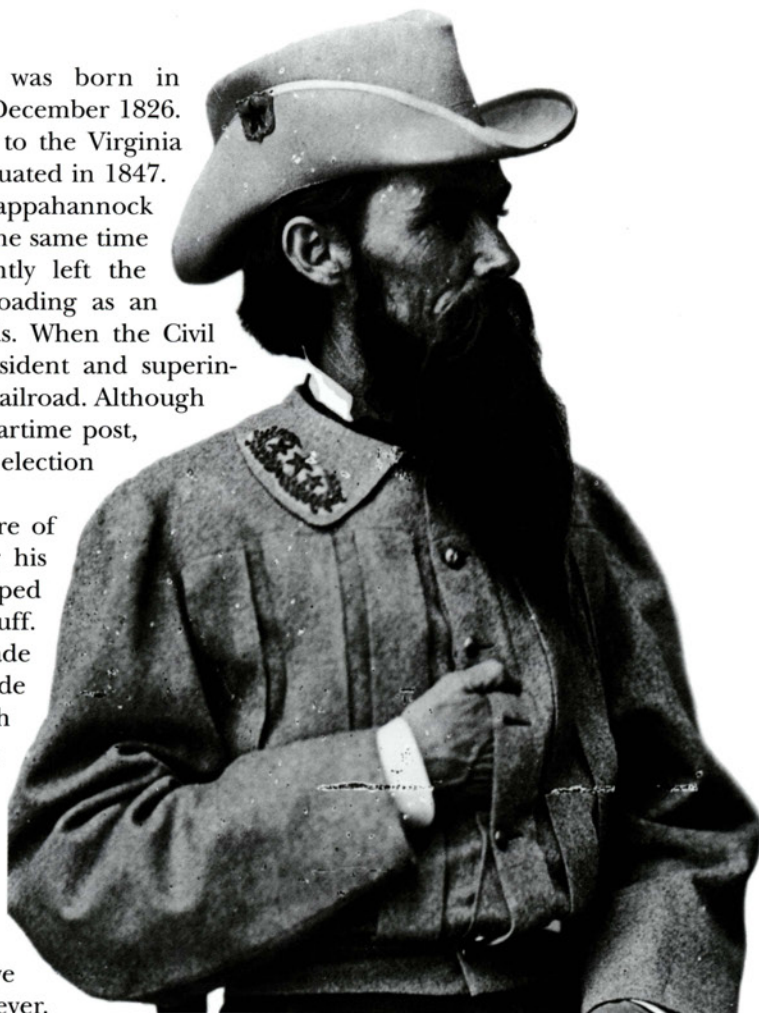
William Mahone (see Plate H3) was born in Southampton County, Virginia, on 1 December 1826. His father, a tavern-keeper, sent him to the Virginia Military Institute, from which he graduated in 1847. He then became a teacher at the Rappahannock (Virginia) Military Academy while at the same time studying engineering. He subsequently left the teaching profession to take up railroading as an engineer for several Virginia railroads. When the Civil War broke out Mahone was the president and superintendent of the Norfolk & Petersburg Railroad. Although this would have been an important wartime post, he chose to enter the army, accepting election as colonel of the 6th Virginia Infantry.

Mahone was involved in the capture of the Norfolk Navy Yard before taking his troops to Richmond, where they helped to create the defenses at Drewry's Bluff. On 16 November 1861 he was made brigadier-general and given a brigade in the Army of Northern Virginia, with which he was to serve right through the war until Appomattox.

At Second Manassas (Bull Run, 29-30 August 1862) Mahone's brigade was in the part of the line hardest hit by Federal attacks; he himself was severely wounded, but his men held. His spirits seem to have drooped after Manassas, however. Lieutenant-Colonel Walter Taylor, who was close to a member of Mahone's staff, wrote home in August 1863 that Mahone "must be very unhappy & certainly makes those so around him ..." After recuperating he returned to active service.

Mahone commanded a division in the Petersburg line when the Federals exploded a mine under the Confederates on 30 July 1864 and Ambrose Burnside launched an attack through the shattered defenses. Lee immediately ordered Mahone, whose division was nearby, to the defense of the line. Rather than send his men forward for another to command he dashed them up to the threatened line - which he knew from his railroad days - and sent them at the enemy with fixed bayonets. Leading from the front and under fire, Mahone displayed a personal bravery and close supervision of the counter-attacks that helped doom the Federal assault.

For his actions in this "Battle of the Crater" Mahone was offered a major-general's commission - for the second time. After an exchange of correspondence with Lee he accepted, and was appointed with seniority



The former railroad man William Mahone preferred short jackets with pleats in front and a fall collar, worn with dark blue trousers - see Plate H3. The meaning of the shield and star badge on his hat is unknown. Although a determined fighting general who distinguished himself at Petersburg, Mahone was particular about his diet, and his headquarters was recognizable by the milk cow and laying hens kept to provide food for his table. Confederate artillery battalion commander William Poague ran into Mahone during the retreat to Appomattox: "I found him sheltering himself under a poplar tree from a passing thunder shower and in a towering passion abusing and swearing at the Yankees, who he had just learned had that morning captured his headquarters wagon and his cow, saying it was a most serious loss, for he was not able, in the delicate condition of his health, to eat anything but tea and crackers and fresh milk."



from 30 July 1864. It was in the rank of major-general that he surrendered at Appomattox. Afterwards Lee said that of all the younger men in the army who survived to the end, it was Mahone who made the largest contribution to the army's organization and command.

After the war Mahone reorganized the Norfolk & Western Railroad while also entering politics. He lost several elections, but was finally elected to the US Senate in 1880 on what he called the "Readjuster Party" ticket. Essentially this was the local Republican Party, of which Mahone was the clear local leader. Mahone died in Washington, DC, on 8 October 1895, and is buried in Blanford Cemetery in Petersburg.

### **PENDLETON, William Nelson (1809-83)**

William Nelson Pendleton (see **Plate A2**) was born in Richmond, Virginia, on 26 December 1809, the son of a lawyer active in both the politics of the American Revolution and the affairs of the Episcopal Church. The son picked a military career, entering the US Military Academy's class of 1830. There he became acquainted with fellow Virginia cadet Robert E. Lee, a member of the class ahead of him. He also came under the influence of the chaplain, who brought a number of cadets to the Episcopal Church. Three years after graduating from the Academy he resigned from the army and entered the seminary. Pendleton was ordained a priest in 1838, and was called to become rector of Grace Church, Lexington, Virginia, in 1853. Save for the four years of the Civil War, he would occupy this post until his death.

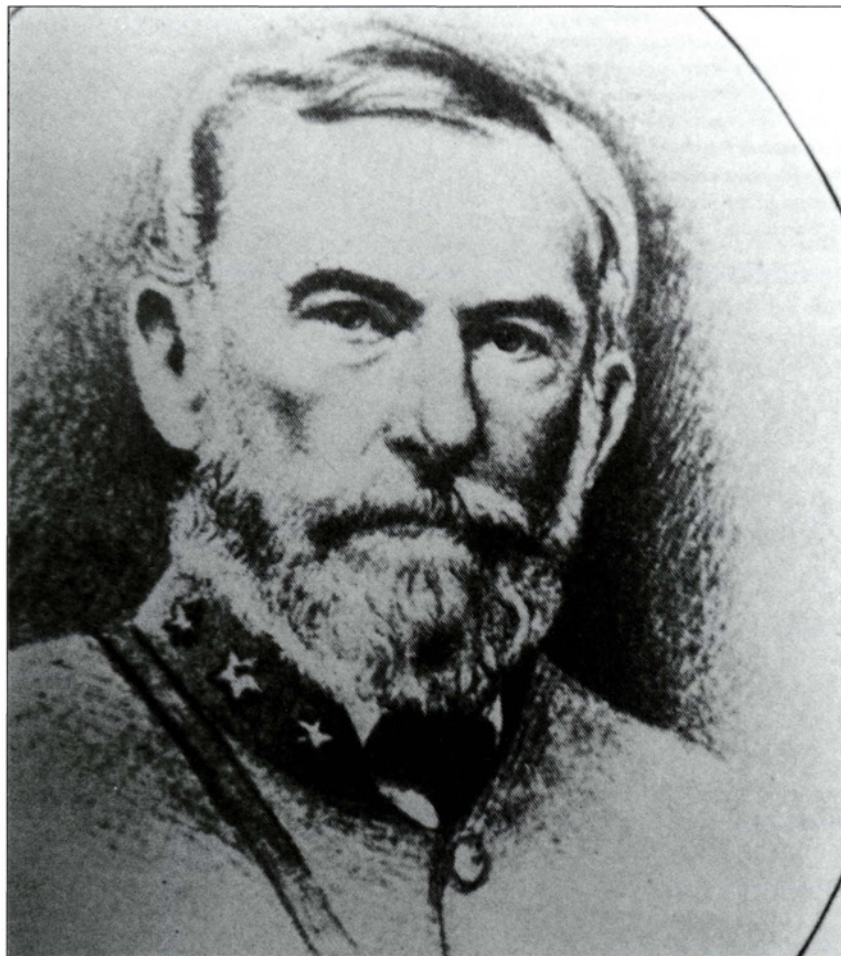
At the outbreak of the war he was elected captain of the Rockbridge Artillery, but did not stay long with the battery. He was soon made a colonel and chief of artillery of Joseph Johnston's Army of the Potomac, and was promoted to brigadier-general on 22 March 1862. Pendleton took every chance he got to officiate at Sunday services wherever he found himself, often begging civilian parishioners to support the army materially as well as spiritually. Indeed, he took care of himself materially as well; an artillery battalion commander recalled that during the siege of Petersburg, "General Pendleton on his inspecting tours nearly always dropped in at my quarters about dinner hour, knowing he stood a chance for a pretty good meal. No one enjoyed a good dinner more than he."

Pendleton was an old man in an army of young men and he was not as active as many desired. He took ill with malaria during the Peninsula campaign, and thereafter suffered from recurring bouts of the illness. For the last two years of the war his duties were largely confined to administration rather than field command. In this role he proved excellent in creating efficient organizations. He created the army's general artillery reserve, and took batteries away from infantry brigades to organize them into battalions. This turned out to be a distinct tactical advantage for the Confederates, who could mass their guns, although they were otherwise inferior to the Federals in the number and quality of their guns and ammunition.

On 15 June 1864, Lee wrote Jefferson Davis about the problem of filling the post of a corps commander with the Army of Tennessee: "As much as I esteem & admire Genl Pendleton, I would not select him to command a corps in this army. I do not mean to say by that he is not competent, but from what I have seen of him, I do not know that he is. I can spare him, if in your good judgment, you decide he is the best



William Pendleton, Lee's chief of artillery and an ordained Episcopalian minister, was occasionally confused for Lee by civilians when he was in Richmond – a mistake which gave the reverend gentleman much pleasure. Pendleton was liked but not very widely admired; E. Porter Alexander thought that "He was too old & had been too long out of army life to be thoroughly up to all the opportunities of his position." Nevertheless, his work in organizing the Confederate artillery for massed use on the battlefield was a genuinely valuable contribution. Cf Plate A2.



available." Davis, while he took Lee's advice and did not name Pendleton to the command, still thought well of the man. He wrote that in Pendleton "were happily combined the highest characteristics of the soldier, the patriot, and the Christian ..." At the same time Pendleton was scorned by his peers and subordinates. Sorrel dismissed him as "a well-meaning man, without qualities for the high post he claimed ..."

After the war he returned to Lexington, where he maintained close contact with Lee, who served on his church vestry. Pendleton died as the rector of Grace Church on 15 January 1883, and is buried in the church graveyard.

#### **PICKETT, George Edward (1825-75)**

George Edward Pickett (see Plate E2) was born in Richmond, Virginia, on 28 January 1825. He graduated 59th in a class of 59 from West Point in 1846, and was assigned to the 2nd US Infantry Regiment. He was transferred the following year to the 7th and then to the 8th Infantry, with which he served in the Mexican War. Not a brilliant soldier, he was nonetheless a brave one, earning a brevet to first lieutenant for meritorious conduct during the battles of Contreras and Churubusco, and to captain for gallant conduct at Chapultepec. He received a permanent first lieutenant's commission on 28 June 1849,



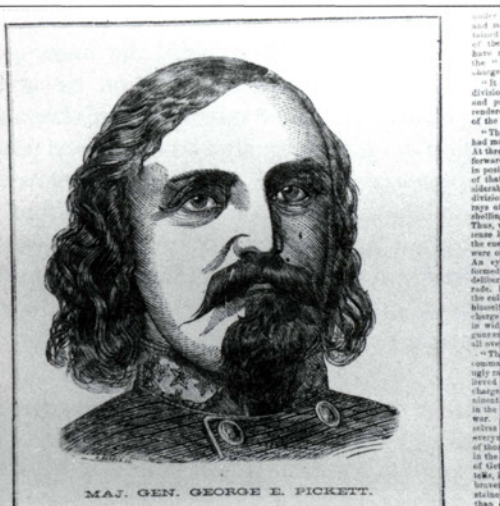
The dandyish George Pickett worn an unusual coat, although his trousers were regulation. This coat's non-regulation cuffs – see Plate E2 – as well as a sleeve from a coat that Pickett wore earlier, are preserved in the Civil War Museum in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.



and a captain's commission in the 9th Infantry on 3 March 1855. Pickett was first noticed publicly as a company commander on the Canadian border during the "San Juan Island affair" in 1859. He avoided bloodshed in this border dispute and maintained good relations with his British counterparts while the affair was resolved.

Pickett resigned his commission on 25 June 1861 to join Virginia's forces as colonel in charge of defenses on the Lower Rappahannock. Appointed a brigadier-general on 14 January 1862, he led a brigade in the Peninsula campaign and was severely wounded at Gaines' Mill on 27 June. After recuperating he returned to the army in time for the Maryland invasion. He was named a major-general on 10 October 1862.





MAJ. GEN. GEORGE E. PICKETT.

A fairly crude engraving of George Pickett from the *Southern Illustrated News* published in Richmond during the war at least captured his long hair. The British observer Arthur Fremantle wrote of Pickett just before Gettysburg: "He wears his hair in long ringlets, and is altogether rather a desperate-looking fellow" – but then, Fremantle was judging by the standards of a Foot Guards officer of the mid-Victorian army.

It was Pickett's all-Virginia division, along with Pender's division, which were selected as being the freshest troops available for the attack against the Federal center on Cemetery Ridge at Gettysburg on 3 July 1863. The charge failed with enormous losses, and Pickett took it personally; when Lee, meeting him after the attack, told him to look after his division, he blurted out that he had no division.

Pickett was sent to command the Department of Virginia and North Carolina, including the lines around Petersburg. He returned to the Army of Northern Virginia when Union forces besieged Petersburg and his troops were amalgamated with Lee's. 1 April 1865 found Pickett enjoying a brief break from his duties, eating newly caught shad with fellow generals Thomas Rosser and Fitz Lee. His troops were on the far Confederate right,

along Hatcher's Run, when the Federals hit. Although separated from his command by Union troops, he still managed to get back to his men at Five Forks; but his command was badly battered, and Lee was forced to retreat from Petersburg, going west and then south to join Confederate forces in North Carolina. Lee rather unfairly blamed Pickett for the disaster and relieved him of command. Pickett continued with the army, although without any official function, until Appomattox.

After the war Pickett went into the insurance business in Norfolk, Virginia, where he died on 30 July 1875. He is buried in Richmond. Longstreet wrote that Pickett "was of an open, frank, and genial temperament."

### RODES, Robert Emmett (1829–64)

Robert Emmett Rodes (see Plate F2) was born in Lynchburg, Virginia, on 29 March 1829. He graduated from the Virginia Military Institute in 1848, remaining there as an assistant professor. In 1851 he resigned his post and became a railroad engineer in Alabama, where he was married in Tuscaloosa. He had applied for a post as professor of applied mathematics at VMI just before the war broke out, when he returned to Alabama, being named colonel of the 5th Alabama Infantry.

Rodes served well at First Manassas (Bull Run, 21 July 1861), being commended for an action at Blackburn's Ford. On 21 October he was named brigadier-general in command of the brigade of Alabamians and Mississippians that had previously been commanded by Richard Ewell. Severely wounded at Seven Pines (Fair Oaks, 31 May–1 June 1862), he hurried back from his hospital bed in time to participate in the battle of Gaines' Mill. This return proved premature, and Rodes was forced to go on leave to recuperate on 27 June, leaving the field before the brigade marched off to the disaster at Malvern Hill. He returned to his post in time for the summer/fall campaign, serving well at South Mountain and Sharpsburg (Antietam, 17 September 1862). John B. Gordon, who served under him as a regimental commander, judged him a "superb brigade commander." At Sharpsburg, where Rodes' Brigade held part of the famous Sunken Road, his division commander, D.H. Hill, wrote that "Rodes' brigade has immortalized itself."



When D.H.Hill was sent to a North Carolina command, Rodes was given command of the division. He finally received the major-general's rank due to a divisional commander based largely on his service at Chancellorsville, where his division was in the van of Jackson's famous flank march. Rodes led his division at Gettysburg, after which he was praised by Lee – although in fact his division seems to have been badly deployed there. On 27 January 1864, Lee included Rodes on a short-list of four major-generals of whom he said he had "great confidence" in their abilities. Rodes led his men in the Wilderness and at Spotsylvania (May 1864); of the latter battle E.Porter Alexander wrote: "There were never, anywhere, two better fighters than Rodes & Ramseur or two more attractive men."



**Brigadier-General Beverly Robertson, a West Pointer who served in the 2nd Dragoons in the West before the war, was elected colonel of the 4th Virginia Cavalry and then named a brigadier-general in June 1862. His cavalry command stayed with the main army instead of going with Stuart during the Gettysburg campaign, and Robertson's inept leadership was a major factor in Lee's moving into Pennsylvania blind to the enemy's dispositions. Afterwards Robertson was relieved and sent to South Carolina, where he stayed until the war ended. Here his coat appears to be basically regulation, with a general's larger center star on the collar, but lacks the Austrian knot in gold lace on the sleeves.**



Rodes was sent with II Corps to the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia under Jubal Early in June 1864. He served there at the last battle

Winchester, launching a counter-attack that helped trapped Confederate forces escape successfully. However, in the course of this action, shortly after noon on 19 September, Rodes, mounted on a fine black horse, was trying to control his mount while observing the advancing lines when a shell exploded nearby. A fragment struck him in the head, knocking him from the saddle. His staff and nearby troops rushed to his side but found that he was unconscious with a faint pulse that soon stopped. The land on which he died is now a housing development. Taken from the field, he was buried in Lynchburg.

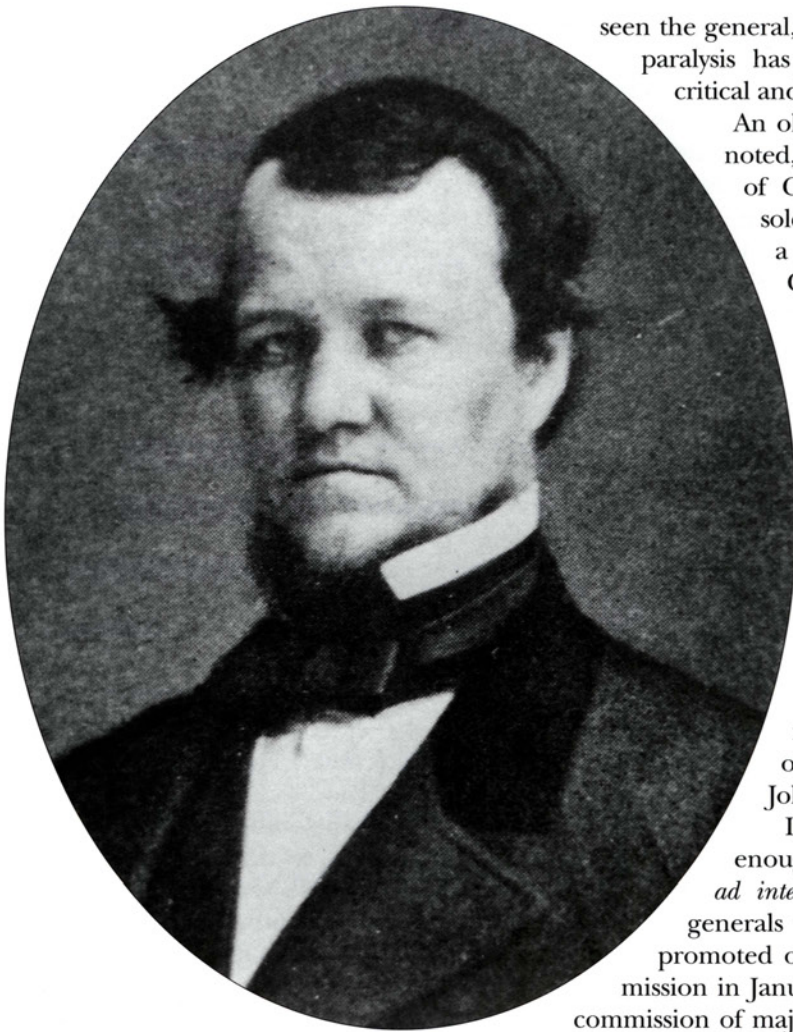
### **SMITH, Gustavus Woodson (1821–96)**

Gustavus Woodson Smith (see **Plate B3**) was born in Georgetown, Kentucky, on either 30 November or 1 December 1821. He was graduated eighth out of 56 cadets in the West Point class of 1842. Entering the Corps of Engineers, he was assigned to the Company of Sappers, Miners and Pontoniers in the Mexican War. He commanded the company from 10 March to 22 May 1847, and earned brevets as first lieutenant and captain for meritorious service at Cerro Gordo and Contreras. Afterwards he served as the Principal Assistant Professor of Engineering at West Point, and worked on various seacoast fortifications. Smith, known to army friends as “GW,” resigned from the service on 18 December 1854 to become a civil engineer. In 1858 he was named streets commissioner of New York City, where he was prominent in Democratic Party affairs. On the outbreak of the Civil War he resigned immediately and went south to accept a commission as major-general in the Confederate Army on 19 September 1861.

Smith was considered a prize catch in the South, receiving universal praise as one of the top generals available despite the fact that he had never commanded anything larger than a company. He was sent to northern Virginia where he was given command of all troops not under Beauregard. Unfortunately he was not in good health. He quickly developed a plan to invade the North, but the Confederate government’s strategy was one of strict defense and the plan was rejected. On 31 May 1862, Joseph Johnston, then commanding the army defending Richmond, was wounded and carried from the field. Smith, as the senior officer remaining, took command of the army. Initially the troops were cheered by Smith’s appointment: “He is said, by those who know him, to be one of the very best men in our Army – and I am glad he has command,” wrote Maj. James Griffin of the Hampton Legion on 26 March 1862. Longstreet’s aide Thomas Goree took comfort in the fact that Smith was at least a “comparatively temperate” man.

After a brief talk with presidential advisor Robert E. Lee, Smith made a cautious return to Johnston’s planned attack. However, on 2 June his adjutant had to report to Richmond that “General Smith finds himself utterly unable to endure the mental excitement incident to his actual presence with the army. Nothing but duty under fire could possibly keep him up, and there is danger of entire prostration. He goes to town today to gain a few days’ respite. All business and all exciting questions must be kept from him for awhile. Major Melton will accompany him to prevent, while it is necessary, all such intrusion. Since writing the above I have again





Much was expected of Gustavus Woodson Smith, photographed here just before the war (cf Plate B3). He had been one of the intellectual stars of the prewar Corps of Engineers, and had proved his courage in the field during the Mexican War. However, in June 1862 he suffered a nervous breakdown as soon as he came under the pressure of senior field command.

seen the general, and am pained to learn that partial paralysis has already commenced. The case is critical and the danger imminent."

An old acquaintance, E. Porter Alexander, noted, "I had always been a great friend of Gen. G.W. & believed him a great soldier. In the Mexican War he had been a lieut. in what was afterwards my old Co. A, engineers, & had an unusual amount of hard & close fighting, & he came out of the war with several brevets, & a reputation for personal gallantry second to none in the army. But some how, in our war, the fates were against him. He started with high rank but never had a chance in battle until this fight ... Smith was a martyr to physical ailments which greatly reduced his energy, &, especially made riding almost impossible. I don't know whether he intended to attack or not, but about noon Gen. Lee came out from Richmond to replace Gen. Johnston in the command."

In November 1862, Smith recovered enough to be appointed Secretary of War *ad interim*. However, when a number of generals who had been junior to him were promoted over his head, he resigned his commission in January 1863. Thereafter he accepted a commission of major-general of Georgia Militia, where

he volunteered to design defensive lines, and organized that state's forces. He handled them well, especially on the Chattahoochee before the battle of Atlanta and later at the defense of Savannah in December 1864. He surrendered at Macon, Georgia, on 20 April 1865.

After the war Smith served as insurance commissioner of Kentucky from 1870 to 1876. He then moved to New York City, where he died on 24 June 1896. He is buried in New London, Connecticut.

#### **STUART, James Ewell Brown (1833-64)**

"Jeb" Stuart (see Plate D3) was born in Patrick County, Virginia, on 6 February 1833. He graduated 13th of 46 members of the West Point class of 1854, which was led by Robert E. Lee's son, George Washington Custis Lee. He was assigned to the Regiment of Mounted Riflemen, later serving in the 1st Cavalry Regiment, largely in Kansas. When Virginia left the Union he resigned his commission to become colonel of the 1st Virginia Cavalry. Leading his men into Union lines without direct orders at First Manassas (Bull Run, 21 July 1861), the young colonel rapidly caught the public eye and was promoted brigadier-general on 24 September. Virginia cavalry officer Charles Blackford wrote home after First Manassas: "Stuart sleeps every night on Munson's Hill without



even a blanket under or over him. He is very young, only twenty-eight but he seems a most capable soldier, never resting, always vigilant, always active." Stuart led the Army of Northern Virginia's cavalry on a reconnaissance right round the entire Army of the Potomac just before the Seven Days' Battles in late June 1862, a feat that gained him even more fame – and he played up to it. He was very conscious of appearances; staff officer W.W. Blackford noted that "General Stuart always dressed well and was well mounted, and he liked his staff to do the same. In our grey uniforms, cocked felt hats, long black plumes, top boots and polished accoutrements, mounted on superb horses, the General and his staff certainly presented a dashing appearance."

The visiting Austrian officer Fitzgerald Ross noted: "General Stuart is an absolute teetotaler, and never drinks anything stronger than lemonade. He says that if he were to drink any strong liquors at all, he is sure he should be too fond of it, and therefore prefers total abstinence. Nor does he ever smoke." Despite this, Ross added, "Stuart's camp is always one of the jolliest; as the General is very fond of music and singing, and is always gay and in good spirits himself, and when he laughs heartily, as frequently happens, he winds up with a shout very cheering to hear." For all that, Stuart was a devout Episcopalian.

The army's cavalry was enlarged to divisional strength and Stuart was named its commander with the rank of major-general on 25 July 1862. Later this command would grow to corps size with two divisions. Stuart, however, much to his chagrin, was never named a lieutenant-general to match the infantry corps commanders. He performed well at Second Manassas in August 1862, where his troops raided the enemy's communications and learned the strength and disposition of Union forces. He also distinguished himself during the Maryland invasion the following month, and his horse artillery was of great service at Fredericksburg in December 1862.

After Jackson's wounding at Chancellorsville, Stuart was given temporary command of II Corps, which he led well enough. However, shortly thereafter he gave way to vanity and staged a grand review of his corps for Lee and Richmond civilians, neglecting to post adequate guards. His troops were caught unprepared by a suddenly aggressive Union cavalry under Alfred Pleasanton at Brandy Station on 9 June 1863. Never again would Union cavalry be outclassed by Stuart's troopers. Stuart's pride was hurt, and he determined to regain his glory during the Gettysburg campaign.

Roaming around Maryland and Pennsylvania, capturing a large Union supply train that further slowed his progress, Stuart was out of touch with Lee's army during the vital days when it collided with the Army of the Potomac at Gettysburg. Lee had to fight without the information that only his cavalry could have provided, with serious consequences. With his usual indulgence, however, Lee did not relieve Stuart of his command. Stuart served well in the Wilderness in May 1864, managing to reach vital crossroads and protect Richmond from a strong cavalry thrust led by Philip Sheridan. On 11 May he was mortally wounded at Yellow Tavern during one of those fights. Taken to Richmond, where he refused a drink of whisky even though dying, he succumbed the next day, and was buried in the Confederate capital's Hollywood Cemetery.





"Jeb" Stuart loved the full display of a general officer of cavalry, though he preferred a dashing personal uniform with a buttoned-back jacket to the regulation frock coat – see Plate D3. Again, note the regulation large central star in the generals' collar insignia, often omitted by generals in favor of the three equal stars which were the formal insignia of colonels. Full beards were quite fashionable in the 1860s, and had the advantage of disguising the youth of some commanders like Stuart, who was promoted to senior command while still in his twenties.

Staff officer Kyd Douglas felt that Stuart was the greatest cavalry commander of the war, with the possible exception of Nathan Bedford Forrest in the Western theater: "Fond of show and with much personal vanity, craving admiration in the parlor as well as on the field, with a taste for music and poetry and song, desiring as much the admiration of handsome women as of intelligent men, with full appreciation of his own well-won eminence – these personal foibles, if they may be called such, did not detract from his personal popularity or his great usefulness."

Major Edward McDonald, 11th Virginia Cavalry, wrote of Stuart after the war: "He was the most brilliant cavalry officer of our army, greatly beloved by both officers and men, and a great loss to the army. His only





This *Harper's Weekly* woodcut of Stuart was copied from a photograph made at the same sitting as the photograph opposite, but has been "flipped" in the process of engraving – though a correction has been made to show the vest buttoning in the right direction. It is worth repeating that these woodcuts were not transferred from the original photograph or artwork by any mechanical process, but were manually engraved onto blocks of smooth-grained boxwood by the skill of hand and eye.

fault was in his love of dash and enterprise, often overtaxing the strength of his command in a fruitless raid. He ought to have more carefully husbanded the men and horses of his command."

### **WHITING, William Henry Chase (1824–65)**

William Henry Chase Whiting (see **Plate B1**), one of the few Confederate generals whose performance never lived up to his promise, was born in Biloxi, Mississippi, on 22 March 1824. He not only graduated first in his class of 41 from West Point in 1845, but his academic record there was the highest ever achieved. Assigned to the Corps of Engineers, he spent the years from 1845 to 1850 overseeing the creation of harbor defenses in Florida and Texas, thereby missing the chance of action in the Mexican War (1846–48). In February 1861 he resigned from the US Army to accept a commission in the Regular Army of the Confederate States as major of engineers. He was appointed chief engineer of the Army of the Shenandoah, and did the necessary staff work to get that force united with the Army of the Potomac just in time for First Manassas (Bull Run, 21 July 1861). Jefferson Davis promoted him a brigadier-general on the spot, to rank from the date of that battle.

Despite never having commanded troops before, Whiting comported himself in an "Old Army" way which was most noticeable in a volunteer army. "Genl Whiting is pretty strict – brings us down to oats," Maj. James Griffin wrote home from one of his regiments in March 1862. "The men abuse him a great deal – but I think it is a good thing. Volunteers always abuse an Officer if he does his duty, and enforces discipline. But it amounts to nothing. Of one thing I am fully convinced, that an army undisciplined is very unreliable and almost worthless. Men must respect and fear their Officers, to be very effective." Staff officer Kyd Douglas noted that Whiting was "a quick-tempered, as well as an excellent officer ..."

In September 1861, President Davis directed that the army's regiments be placed in brigades by state, where previously they had been brigaded for reasons of location, numbers, and so forth. Whiting protested when ordered to command a Mississippi brigade, calling this "a policy as suicidal as foolish." His regiments, he wrote, "are used to me, and I to them, and accustomed to act together." Whiting was consequently informed that his services as a general were not needed, and he should return to the post of major of engineers. Joseph Johnston interceded and managed to keep Whiting – who was going to resign – in the service. But Whiting had lost Davis' favor, and appears to have been doomed from that point on.

Whiting was blamed for not bringing off his equipment in a retreat from the Occoquan and the Potomac, and was asked for a detailed report on the subject. Even so, he was named temporary divisional

commander when Gustavus Smith was moved up to army command and then left the army. Noted E. Porter Alexander, "Poor Whiting was a very hard drinker, & no one who knew him could but fear & wonder how he would acquit himself, off alone with his division ..."

Whiting commanded his division at Seven Pines (Fair Oaks), in the Valley campaign, and in the Seven Days' Battles. In this last series of actions in late June 1862 he was very critical of Jackson, while rumors spread that Whiting had been under the influence of alcohol and done less than his fair share at Malvern Hill (1 July). Whiting complained about these rumors, but Lee told him to "forget them, general; do not let us recollect unpleasant things; life is very short." Whiting went on sick leave in late 1862, and on his return found that Lee had arranged for his removal from the army and assignment to Wilmington, North Carolina, to defend the mouth of the Cape Fear River. As a sop he was promoted to major-general on 22 April 1863.

As his new department included defenses at Petersburg, Whiting served there for a short time in 1864. However, he failed to get his command into action at Port Walthall Junction, and again rumors of alcohol (and narcotic) abuse spread through the army. Returning to North Carolina, he was severely wounded and captured in the fall of Wilmington (22 February 1865). He was brought to Fort Columbus, on Governor's Island outside New York City, where he died of his wounds on 10 March. He is buried in Oakdale Cemetery, Wilmington, North Carolina.

### **WILCOX, Cadmus Marcellus (1824-90)**

Cadmus Marcellus Wilcox (**see Plate B2**) was born in Wayne County, North Carolina, on 29 May 1824. His family moved to Tennessee and he attended the University of Nashville before being accepted for West Point, whence he graduated along with George Pickett and Thomas J. Jackson in the class of 1846, finishing 54th in a class of 59. He was commissioned into the 7th Infantry, serving as the regiment's adjutant to July 1847, before receiving an appointment as an aide-de-camp to Maj. Gen. John Quitman, whom he served until July 1848. He was breveted first lieutenant in 1847 for meritorious service in the battle of Chapultepec. Staying in the army, he was promoted first lieutenant in 1851, after serving in Florida in 1849-50. Although his academic record might not have suggested it, Wilcox became known as a scholar of war and was appointed assistant instructor of infantry tactics at West Point in 1852. He served in this position until 1857, when he returned to line duty with the 7th Infantry. Wilcox published several books during this time, including *Rifles and Rifle Practice* and a translation of the Austrian *Infantry Evolutions of the Line*. Wilcox resigned his commission on 1 June 1861, and became colonel of the 9th Alabama Infantry.

The 9th Alabama saw action at First Manassas (Bull Run, 21 July 1861) and Wilcox was promoted to brigadier-general on 21 October. Sick and absent during the Maryland campaign of 1862, Wilcox – known to his men as "Old Billy Fixin'" – commanded on the left of the Confederate line at Fredericksburg (13 December 1862) and consequently saw little action there. At the beginning of May 1863 he proved his value when he observed Union troops heading towards Chancellorsville in Lee's rear, and deployed his brigade successfully to

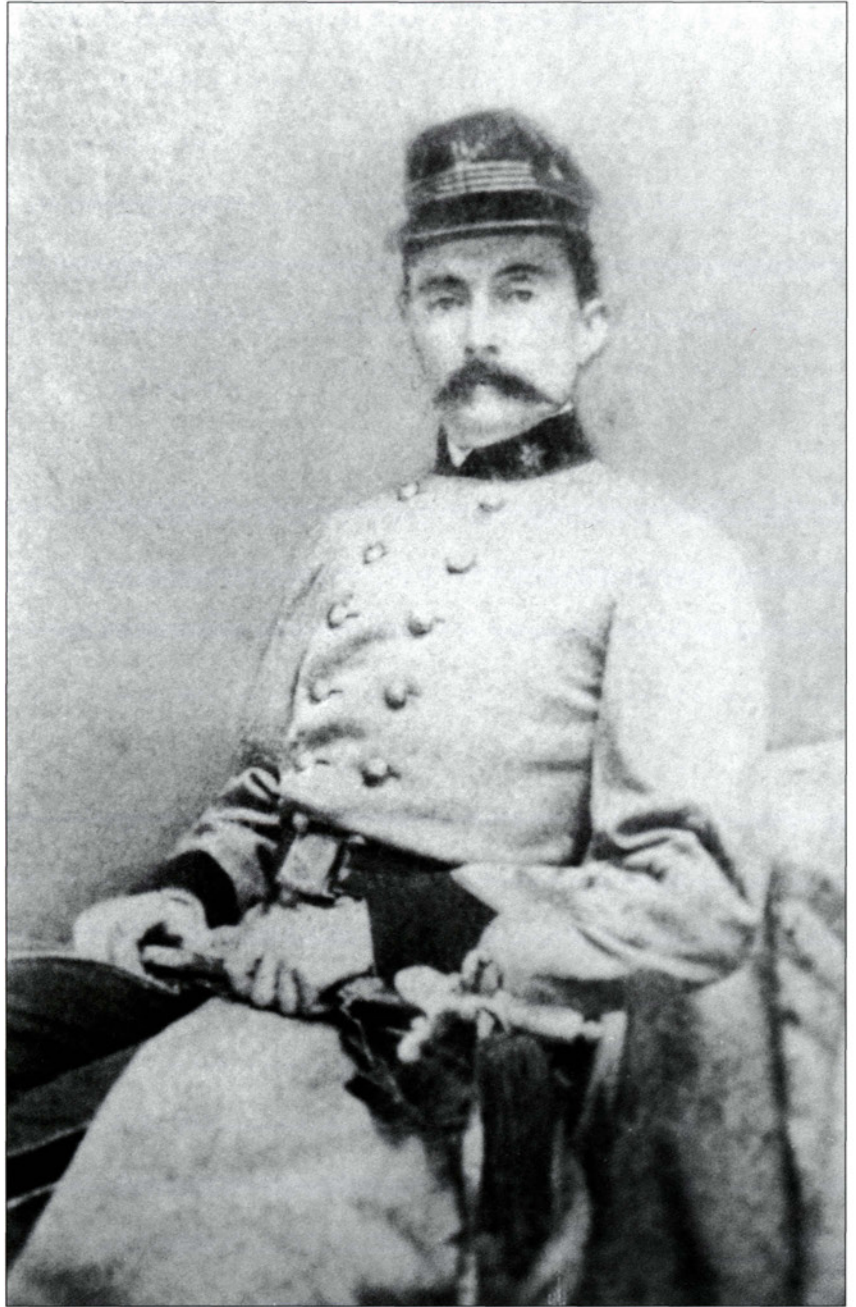


delay the Federal advance while sending word back to Lee of this probe. His actions made it possible for Early to reconcentrate his scattered forces and protect the main army.

Wilcox's troops were sent to the right of the main assault on the third day of Gettysburg (3 July 1863), crossing the Emmitsburg Road but running into heavy Union opposition that checked them and forced their retreat. As Lee rode up to Wilcox's retiring forces, the British observer Col. Arthur Fremantle saw the two meet and Wilcox "explain, almost crying, the state of his brigade. General Lee immediately shook hands with him and said cheerfully, 'Never mind, General, all this has been MY fault – it is I that have lost this fight, and you must help me out of it in the best way you can.'"

Lee went on to recommend Wilcox to replace Dorsey Pender on the latter's death, writing that "General Wilcox is one of the oldest brigadiers in the service, a highly capable officer, has served from the commencement of the war and deserves promotion. Being an officer of the regular army he is properly assignable anywhere." On 13 August 1863, Wilcox was named a major-general, to the general approval of the army. His stubborn defensive fighting helped save the day at the Wilderness; and again at Fort Gregg in the Petersburg lines on 2 April 1865, where his stand allowed Longstreet to get into a new position to cover the army's lines of retreat.

After the war Wilcox moved to Washington, DC. In 1886 he was appointed land chief of the railroad division of the Land Office, holding that post until his death on 2 December 1890. He is buried in Oak Hill Cemetery in Washington.



**Dr Thomas H. Williams was the first medical director of the army in Virginia, serving in that post until the battle of Seven Pines (Fair Oaks) in the Peninsula campaign at the beginning of June 1862. His uniform appears to be generally as regulation, with the black facings of the medical branch, though lacking the gold lace Austrian knot on the forearms.**



## THE PLATES

**A1: Lieutenant-General James Longstreet**

**A2: Brigadier-General the Reverend William Pendleton**

**A3: Brigadier-General Nathan Evans**

Moxley Sorrel, chief of staff to Longstreet (**A1**), recalled their first meeting: "Brig.-Gen. James Longstreet was then a most striking figure, about forty years of age, a soldier every inch, and very handsome, tall and well proportioned, strong and active, a superb horseman and with an unsurpassed soldierly bearing, his features and expression fairly matched; eyes, glint steel blue, deep and piercing; a full brown beard, head well shaped and poised. The worst feature was the mouth, rather coarse; it was partly hidden, however, by his ample beard." Thomas Goree described him in these terms: "He is about five feet eleven inches in height, and weighs about 200 pounds, has light hair, about the color of mine, with blue eyes; has a florid complexion, and a very amiable, soft expression of countenance. He wears a large, heavy set of whiskers and moustache, which hides the lower part of his face.



When on foot, and in citizen's dress, he has rather a sluggish appearance, but he is exceedingly punctual and industrious. Whatever he has to do, he does well and quickly. When he dresses up in his uniform and mounts his horse, I think that he presents a better appearance than any other man in the Army." He is depicted here wearing regulation general officer's uniform with the short coat shown in a photograph, and high riding boots.

Captain Charles Blackford attended a church service where he "heard the Rev. General Pendleton (**A2**) preach a very good sermon. His avocations were curiously mixed in his apparel. The gown covered up his uniform entirely except for the wreath and stars of a general on his collar which peeped out to mildly protest against too much 'peace on earth' and the boots and spurs clanked around the chancel with but little sympathy with the doctrine of 'good will towards men.'" The British observer Arthur Fremantle noted in 1863 that Pendleton "continues to preach whenever he gets a chance. On these occasions he wears a surplice over his uniform." He suffered from a disorder, *cacoethes scribendi*, which produced some remarkable facial distortions.

The hard-drinking "Shanks" Evans (**A3**) was described by Lt. William Harris of the 71st Pennsylvania as "a man of tall, brawny frame and unusual length of limb ..." He had light blue eyes and reddish-brown hair, worn long although thinning on top. His frock coat is cut longer than Longstreet's and worn open at the throat; he wears no sash, and favours a slouch hat for field dress. Despite his reported lack of arrogance, Evans was noted as having a savage look to him unless he were smiling.

**B1: Brigadier-General William Whiting**

**B2: Brigadier-General Cadmus Wilcox**

**B3: Major-General Gustavus Smith**

William Whiting (**B1**) – like Evans, a drinker whose habit caused comment even in a hard-drinking army – was described as a handsome man who, being aware of his social position and professional standing as one of the elite of the pre-war US Army, was somewhat brusque in his dealings with others. He wears a plain all-gray frock coat with eight buttons, and unwreathed stars on the collar; his trousers and slouch hat are also gray.

The late-flowering scholar and dogged defensive fighter Cadmus Marcellus Wilcox (**B2**) was described by Arthur Fremantle in 1863 as wearing "a short round jacket and a battered straw hat"; the jacket has a line of white trim and three buttons on each cuff. He was of short stature, and photos show high cheekbones, a lined forehead and very dark eyes. He is shown here with a holstered pistol and cap pouch on his sword belt, and a black haversack and binocular case slung around his body.

A formal type of man, "G.W." Smith (**B3**) was photographed in regulation dress. He was tall, powerfully built, with massive, rough-hewn features that included thin lips, giving him a proud and even pompous expression; he was often noted as frowning.

**A pair of binoculars made in France for sale to the armed forces in America during the Civil War. Binoculars were the most essential piece of field equipment carried by general officers. (Author's collection)**



**C1: Brigadier-General Maxcy Gregg**

**C2: Major-General Lafayette McLaws**

**C3: Major-General Wade Hampton**

At the time of his death at Fredericksburg, Maxcy Gregg (C1) was 48 years old, of short stature, with blue eyes and dark brown beard and hair. He was described as wearing full uniform, and photographed in this gray "tricorn" – a hat associated with troops from Mississippi in 1861 more than those from South Carolina; the frontal decoration was a cockade of folded gold ribbons.

Of Longstreet's *bête noire* McLaws (C2), Maj. Robert Stiles wrote: "His entire make-up, physical, mental and moral, was solid, even stoic. In figure he was short, stout, square-shouldered, deep-chested, strong-limbed; in complexion, dark and swarthy, with coal-black eyes and black, thick, close-curling hair and beard. Of his type, he was a handsome man, but the type of the Roman centurion..."

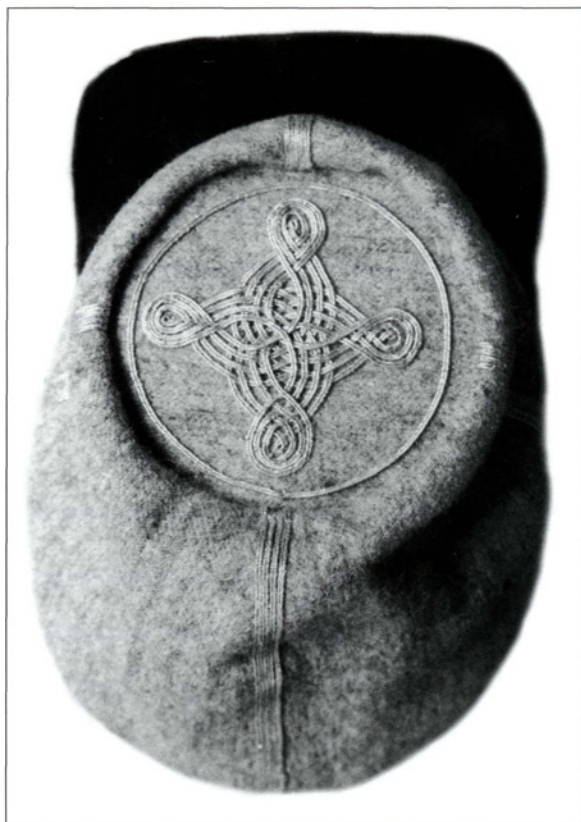
The prickly Southern aristocrat Wade Hampton (C3), who succeeded "Jeb" Stuart at the head of the cavalry, was noted by staff officer John Esten Cooke as wearing a "plain gray coat, worn, dingy, and faded ..." rather than the regulation uniform. He went on: "The face was browned by sun and wind, and half covered by the dark side-whiskers joining a long moustache of the same hue; the chin bold, prominent, and bare. The eyes were brown, inclining to black, and very mild and friendly ... The frame of the soldier – straight, vigorous, and stalwart, but not too broad for grace – was encased in a plain gray sack coat of civilian cut, with the collar turned down; cavalry boots, large and serviceable, with brass spurs; a brown felt hat, without star or feather, the rest of the dress plain gray. Imagine this stalwart figure with a heavy sabre buckled around his waist ..." Note that he wears the regulation three stars on his collar, but a single star on the gold-framed black South Carolina shoulder straps. The fuller beard is from a photograph – see page 17.

**D1: General Robert E. Lee**

**D2: Lieutenant-General Thomas J. Jackson**

**D3: Major-General J.E.B. Stuart**

One of a number of Lee's (A1) attested uniforms – see pages 30–31. Lee described himself thus in June 1861: "My coat is gray, of the regulation style and pattern, and my pants of dark blue, as is also prescribed, partly hid by my long boots. I have the same handsome hat with surmounts my gray head (the latter is not prescribed by regulations) and shields my ugly face, which is masked by a white beard as stiff and wirey as the teeth of a card." Charles Blackford wrote: "Lee does not hesitate to avail himself of some of the aids of martial pomp, though perfectly simple in his daily life, walk and conversation ... Lee wears a well-fitted undress grey uniform with the handsomest trimmings, a handsome sword and cavalry boots, making him the grandest figure on any field." Moxley Sorrel described Lee: "Up to a short time before Seven Pines he had worn for beard only a well-kept moustache, soon turned from black to grizzled. When he took us in hand his full gray beard was growing, cropped close, and always well tended. An unusually handsome man ... The General was always well dressed in gray sack-coat of Confederate cloth, matching trousers tucked into well-fitting riding boots – the simplest emblems of his rank appearing, and a good large black felt hat completed the attire of our commander. He



**A reproduction of a Confederate general's kepi – in the gray which sometimes replaced the regulation dark blue – shows the elaborate "French knot" or quatrefoil of four bands of gold lace worked on top of the crown. The quarter-lacing at front, back and sides is also fourfold, while that surrounding the quatrefoil is single. (Courtesy William Wickham)**

rarely wore his sword, but his binoculars were always at hand." In 1863 Fremantle wrote that Lee "generally wears a well-worn long gray jacket, a high black felt hat, and blue trousers tucked into his Wellington boots. I never saw him carry arms; and the only mark of his military rank are the three stars on his collar. He rides a handsome horse, which is extremely well groomed. He himself is very neat in his dress and person, and in the most arduous marches he always looks smart and neat." Private Luther Hopkins, 6th Virginia Cavalry, saw Lee in 1864: "He was dressed in a new Confederate uniform that fitted him perfectly, with long-legged boots, reaching above the knees. His collar was adorned on each side with three gold stars, surrounded by a gold wreath. His head was covered with a new soft black hat, encircled with a gold cord, from which dangled two gold acorns, one on each side. His full beard, closely clipped, was iron-gray, white predominating. I imagine that he was a little over six feet and would weigh 190 pounds. His eyes, I think, were brown, and as bright as stars." In the left background we illustrate Lee's headquarters flag.

Richard Taylor, one of "Stonewall" Jackson's brigade commanders, described him (D2) in 1862 in "a pair of





**LEFT** A general and staff officer's sword made by Boyle & Gamble, Richmond. The star insignia is unexplained. (Author's collection)

**RIGHT** A drawing by a British artist of Jackson in an unusual overcoat, with his wreathed stars insignia on the deep fall collar – a non-regulation feature. The drawing was supposed to go to England, but was captured by the blockading Union Navy and used to make this woodcut for *Harper's Weekly*.

**BELOW** Drawing by a visiting British artist in 1862 of Jackson's tented field headquarters and staff officers.







were made of good material. His cap was very indifferent and pulled down over one eye, much stained by weather and without insignia. His coat was closely buttoned up to the chin and had upon the collar the stars and wreath of a general. His shoulders were stooped and one shoulder was lower than the other, and his coat showed signs of much exposure to the weather. He had a plain swordbelt without sash and a sword no respect different from that of other infantry officers that I could see. His face, in repose, is not handsome or agreeable, and he would be passed by anyone without a second look, though anyone could see determination and will in his face by the most casual glance – which I would say to fear but not to love.” John Esten Cooke noted that “One of the most curious peculiarities of Jackson was the strange fashion he had of raising his right hand aloft and then letting it fall suddenly to his side.” W.W.Blackford wrote: “Jackson was then about thirty-eight years of age, a little over medium height, of compact muscular build, with dark hair, and eyes that lit up on occasions with great expression, though he did not often indulge in conversation. Until after the battles around Richmond, his clothes looked as if they formed no part of his thoughts. After this period, however, there was a change; he dressed well and rode good horses.”

Of “Jeb” Stuart (D3), Col. John Mosby wrote that his “appearance – which included a reddish beard and a ruddy complexion – indicated a strong physique and great energy.” John Esten Cooke described his costume: “His fighting jacket shone with dazzling buttons and was covered with gold braid; his hat was looped up with a golden star, and decorated with a black ostrich plume; his fine buff gauntlets reached to the elbow; around his waist was tied a splendid yellow silk sash, and his spurs were of pure gold.” He added: “He wore a brown felt hat looped up with a star, and ornamented with an ebon feather; a double-breasted jacket always open and buttoned back; gray waistcoat and pantaloons; and boots to the knee, decorated with small spurs, which he wore even in dancing. To proceed with my catalogue of the soldier’s accoutrements; on marches he threw over his shoulders his gray cavalry cape, and on the pommel of his saddle was strapped an oil-cloth overall, used as protection in rain, which, instead of annoying him, seemed to raise his spirits. In the midst of rain-storms, when everybody was riding along glum and cowering beneath the flood pouring down, he would trot on, head up, and singing gaily. His arms were, a light French sabre, balanced by a pistol in a black holster; his covering at night, a red blanket, strapped in an oil-cloth behind the saddle.” In the right background we illustrate Stuart’s headquarters flag.

#### **E1: Major-General Henry Heth**

#### **E2: Major-General George Pickett**

#### **E3: Brigadier-General Lewis Armistead**

The man who ordered the original “shoe raid” into Gettysburg town, Heth (E1) was described by the Irishman Thomas Conolly as “a most courteous, handsome man” who was “well appointed & rides a beautiful black stallion thoroughbred ...” Of middle height, with light colouring and spare features, Heth wears two rows of nine buttons, set in threes, on his all-gray frock coat; note the frontal piping and open neck.

cavalry boots covering feet of gigantic size, a mangy cap with visor drawn low, a heavy, dark beard, and weary eyes – eyes I afterward saw filled with intense but never brilliant light ... An ungraceful horseman, mounted on a sorry chestnut with shambling gait, his huge feet with out turned toes thrust into his stirrups, and such parts of his countenance as the low visor of his shocking cap failed to conceal wearing a wooden look, our new commander was not prepossessing.” Charles Blackford wrote that “Jackson ... was poorly dressed ... though his clothes





**A two-piece Southern-made belt plate as worn by generals and staff officers. (Author's collection)**

**RIGHT** An 1862 sketch of Lee by a visiting British correspondent formed the basis for this woodcut from *Harper's Weekly*.

Of George Pickett (**E2**) – remembered by history, perhaps unfairly, only for the catastrophic final charge at Gettysburg – his wife recalled that when she first met him she noticed “his very small hands and feet. He had beautiful gray eyes that looked at me through sunny lights – eyes that smiled with his lips. His mustache was gallantly curled. His hair was exactly the color of mine, dark brown, and long and wavy, in the fashion of the time ... His shirt-front of the finest white linen, was in soft puffs and ruffles, and the sleeves were edged with hem-stitched thread cambric ruffles. He would never, to the end of his life, wear the stiff linen collars and cuffs and stocks which came into fashion among men.” Moxley Sorrel described Pickett as “A singular figure indeed! A medium-sized, well-built man, straight, erect, and in well-fitting uniform, an elegant riding-whip in hand, his appearance was distinguished and striking. But the head, the hair were extraordinary. Long ringlets flowed loosely over his shoulders, trimmed and highly perfumed; his beard likewise was curling and giving out the scents of Araby.” Pickett was photographed wearing his coat buttons set in threes, and note the blue collar and gold-trimmed cuffs.

Lewis Armistead (**E3**) is depicted as he was described leading his brigade up Cemetery Ridge at Gettysburg on 3 July 1863, with his hat brandished on his sword. The only known photograph dates from before the war, and shows a thin man, conspicuously balding. Note the rank stars embroidered on a buff cloth oval sewn to the collar of the plain gray coat.

**F1: Lieutenant-General A.P.Hill**

**F2: Major-General Robert Rodes**

**F3: Brigadier-General E.Porter Alexander**

Chaplain J.William Jones described Ambrose Hill (**F1**) in 1862: “He was dressed in a fatigue jacket of gray flannel, his felt hat slouched over his noble brow ...” Maxcy Sorrel described Hill as “of medium height, a light, good figure, and most pleasing soldierly appearance.” In his first

year at West Point Hill wrote that he was 5ft 9ins barefoot and weighed about 150 pounds. Hill was noted for wearing a bright red shirt in action, along with a regulation, gold-laced kepi.

Robert Rodes (**F2**) was photographed in a regulation uniform with white collar and cuffs. This gifted formation commander, praised by both his superiors and his subordinates, was six feet tall, thin-faced with a prominent, dimpled chin, tawny hair, and a long, drooping mustache.

E.P. Alexander (**F3**), to whom we owe many comments on his brother officers, was generally photographed in informal uniforms with three metal stars pinned to his collar, rather than the embroidered stars which were the norm. Here Lee's gifted artillery commander wears a plain gray “sack” jacket with a turned-down collar, a broad-striped shirt with a bow tie, and trousers with a red seam welt.

**G1: Lieutenant-General Richard Ewell**

**G2: Lieutenant-General Jubal Early**

**G3: Major-General John Kershaw**

Campbell Brown, Ewell's stepson and an officer on his staff, later described first meeting him (**G1**) in 1861:

“a medium-sized and plain man, with well-shaped spare figure and face much emaciated by recent sickness but indicative of much character and genius.”

Moxley Sorrel described Ewell as “Bald as an eagle, he looked like one; had a piercing eye and a lisping speech.” Fitted with a wooden leg after being badly wounded at Second Manassas, Ewell was photographed as a major-general wearing this regulation frock coat with the buttons arranged in threes.

Of the stubborn and savage-tongued Jubal Early (**G2**)

Moxley Sorrel wrote: “His appearance was quite striking, having a dark, handsome face, regular features, and deep piercing eyes. He was the victim of rheumatism, and although not old was bent almost double, like an aged man.” John Esten Cooke described him as “a person of middle age; was nearly six feet in height, and, in spite of severe attacks of rheumatism, could undergo great fatigue. His hair was dark and thin, his eyes bright, his smile ready and expressive, though somewhat sarcastic. His dress was plain gray, with few decorations. Long exposure





had made his old coat quite dingy. A wide-brimmed hat overshadowed his sparkling eyes and forehead, browned by sun and wind. In those sparkling eyes could be read the resolute character of the man, as in his smile was seen evidence of that dry, trenchant, often mordant humour, for which he was famous." He is depicted from a photograph, wearing his old "sack" jacket over a high-necked waistcoat and with the brim of his gray slouch hat turned up at the right. His headquarters flag is illustrated in the background.

Although the ambitious politician Kershaw (G3) was far from universally respected or popular, Moxley Sorrel described him as "of most attractive appearance, soldierly and handsome, of medium size, well set up, light hair and mustache, with clean-cut, high-bred features." Note the cuff detail, with a line of white piping instead of full cuff facing.

**H1: Major-General John Gordon**

**H2: Major-General Richard Anderson**

**H3: Major-General William Mahone**

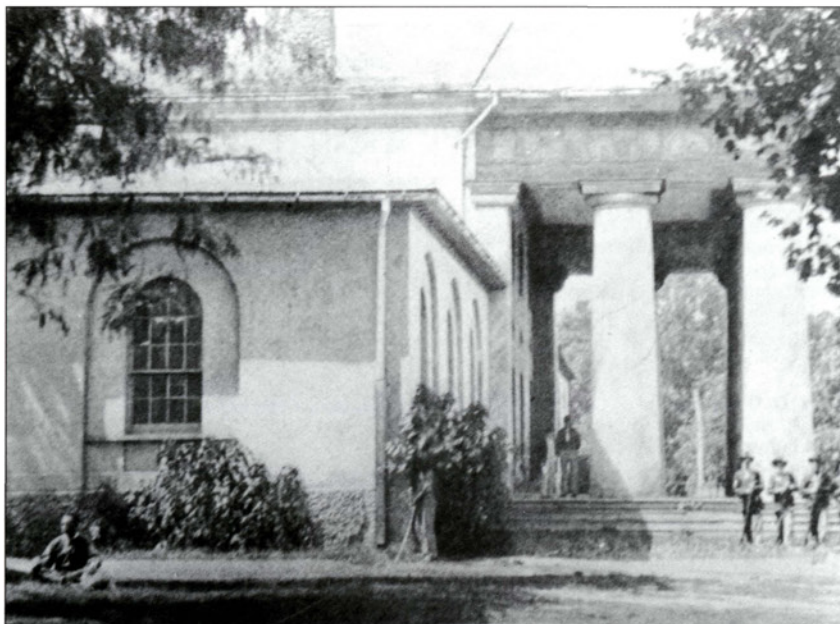
Lieutenant-Colonel W.W.Blackford wrote of this much-wounded and energetic commander, responsible for the Army of Northern Virginia's very last offensive operation, that "Gordon (H1) was a very handsome man, well dressed, well mounted and with that indescribable air of a gentleman which is unmistakable." Note the cuff piping detail on

the plain sleeve of his coat, and the cavalry saber slung from a red and gold dress belt.

Of Longstreet's quiet, steady deputy (H2), Moxley Sorrel noted that Anderson's "own meditative disposition was constantly smoothed by whiffs from a noble, cherished meerschaum pipe in the process of rich coloring. He was a short, thick, stocky figure, with good features and agreeable expression."

Sorrel described the fiery little hero of the Battle of the Crater in these words: "Maj.-Gen. William Mahone (H3) was a Virginian, about forty years of age. His appearance arrested attention. Very small both in height and frame, he seemed a mere atom with little flesh. His wife said 'none.' When he was shot (slightly) she was told it was only a flesh wound. 'Now I know it is serious,' said the good lady, 'for William has no flesh whatever.' Shallow of feature, sharp of eye, and very active in movement was the general; in dress quite unconventional, he affected jackets rather than coats, and on a certain hot summer's day that I recall he was seen, a major-general indeed, but wonderfully accoutered! A plaited brown linen jacket, buttoned to trousers, of same material, like a boy's; topped off by a large Panama straw hat of the finest and most beautiful texture, met our eyes, and I must say he looked decidedly comfortable. But not always was he thus attired. He could be strictly uniformed when he chose." This pleated gray jacket is from the well-known photograph on page 45.

**Robert E. Lee lived in this plantation house across the Potomac River from Washington, DC. Captured early in the war, the estate was used as a graveyard for Union soldiers, and forms the basis of today's Arlington National Cemetery.**





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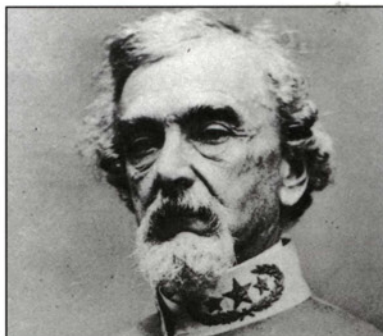
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